# Current Demographic Analysis

## Report on the Demographic Situation in Canada 1983

First issue

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# Symbols

..    figures not available.
... figures not appropriate or not applicable.
–    nil or zero.
– – amount too small to be expressed.

     The last data analysed in this report were those available as of December 31, 1983.

# Preface

Canada has witnessed a number of major demographic developments in recent years. Reduced immigration, declining birth and marriage rates and increased longevity are important recent demographic trends. These changes have significantly altered the dynamics of population growth and the age structure of Canada. Also, the westward migration movement of the 1970s and its recent reversal underscore the volatile nature of internal migration. Although Statistics Canada publishes information on each of these trends in various reports, there is a need for a publication integrating these data and thus providing insight into the current demographic situation. This volume is intended as the first periodic report to fill this need.

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# ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

# DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS IN BRIEF

- Canada, like most industrialized countries, has a slower population growth rate than the world as a whole. Still, its rate ranks among the highest in the Western hemisphere.

- The population of Canada reached the 25 million mark in November 1983, ranking the country 28th in the world.

- The number of births is rising very slowly even though the age structure of the population is working in favour of more births, in other words, the number of women in their childbearing years is still increasing. Deaths are also up, because of the growth of the elderly population.

- In 1982-83, Canada posted a net international migration gain of about 60,000 persons, slightly less than one third of its total annual growth.

- The number of marriages continues to decline substantially (more than 1,200 per annum on the average). This trend would be even steeper if the number of remarriages among the divorced population did not partly offset the sharp drop in first marriages. At the same time, the number of divorces has risen steadily in the past few years.

- According to the most recent life tables, life expectancy for both males and females is increasing. But for the first time over a five year period, males registered a larger gain than females. Infant mortality continues to fall, though the decline in neonatal mortality now outpaces that of post-neonatal mortality.

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- In Eastern Canada, rural population growth exceeded urban growth during the last intercensal period, a new development that is not unique to Canada. Cities generally exhibit a slower growth rate in their downtown cores than in the peripheral areas.

- Notwithstanding a general slowdown, population growth is still strongest in Western Canada, while the trend in the East is towards stability.

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- From 1971 to 1983, the proportion of the population between the ages of 64 and 75, and over 75, rose from 5% to 6.1% and from 3.1% to 3.6% respectively. The proportion of the 0-17 age group fell from 36.7% to 28.1% over the same period.

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- There is a statistic that may go unnoticed yet it is extremely important: the exceptionally large number and proportion of the adult population (15-64) – 15,000,000 persons, or almost two thirds of the Canadian population.

- Canada's population continues to age mainly as a result of the decline in fertility. The aging rate might have been faster if not for a slight rise in the number of births since the late 1970s. Longer life expectancy after 65 is now contributing to the aging trend as well.

- The age distribution of the population varies from province to province, chiefly because of migration. In Western Canada, the population is younger and the proportion of adults is above the national average.

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- As a result of the decline in the number of first marriages, the married population is dwindling. Even though the rate of remarriage is high among divorced persons, their number is increasing. Divorced females far outnumber divorced males.

- The decrease in first marriages is not due to a drop in the number of persons of marriageable age but to the fact that fewer young adults are "taking the plunge" (for the moment, at least). Recent cohorts are lagging so far behind previous ones that it seems highly unlikely that they will be able to catch up through late marriages, though there are signs of an increase in such marriages.

- The tendency for marriages to end in divorce is unquestionably on the rise. The more recent the marriage, the more pronounced this tendency is. Divorces also tend to occur at increasingly short durations of marriage.

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- The internal migration trend reversed itself following the 1982 slowdown in the Alberta oil industry. At one time, Alberta was drawing Canadians from every other province, including Ontario. Not only has that trend slowed, but a return flow is clearly in evidence. Because of these returnees, the Atlantic provinces and Ontario are once again recording net migration gains.

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- As in most industrialized countries, the propensity to bear children is falling. Despite this persistent decline in fertility, Canada does not have the lowest level in the world. Though there is a slowdown in the present Canadian trend, there is nothing in current statistics to indicate that an upturn

of fertility is imminent. Indeed, the small increase in births recorded among females in their early thirties around 1980 apparently did not last into 1982; in any case it was not sufficient to halt the general downward trend.

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- Analysis of life tables reveals that the gain in life expectancy at birth over the last five-year period is largely due to a decrease in deaths from cardiovascular diseases. This drop in turn can be traced to lower incidence of the factors that trigger these diseases, particularly smoking.

- No improvement has been observed in the number of deaths from cancer; in fact, deaths from cancer of the respiratory system are on the rise. The sharpest increases have occurred among women.

- Deaths from motor vehicle accidents have dropped significantly in recent years, and this trend is holding. Traffic accidents remain the third leading cause of death, though they trail far behind the first two causes.

- The suicide rate, which had climbed steadily from 1950 onward, has slowed considerably since 1976, especially among females. The most recent statistics available (1982) seem to bear out the trends.

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- Traditionally, Canada admits many immigrants each year. However, the annual fluctuations mask a downward trend. Canada has continued to open its doors to refugees of war and violence in the world. However, given the unfavourable labour market situation of recent years, there has been a decline in the number of immigrants in other categories.

- Immigrants have been coming to Canada from a much wider variety of countries in recent years. Each year brings fewer Europeans and more Asians, although the United Kingdom and the United States remain major sources of immigrants.

- There is an upward trend in the average age of immigrants, and the once high proportion of single immigrants is decreasing in favour of married immigrants.

- Emigration, although difficult to assess, is not insignificant, having been estimated at more than 45,000 persons in 1982.

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# THE POPULATION OF CANADA

## Canada's Place in the World

The June 1981 Census conducted by Statistics Canada numbered the Canadian population at 24,343,181. Allowing for births, deaths and migration, the country's population was estimated to be 24,889,800 on June 1, 1983 and to have reached the 25 million mark in November of that year. According to

**TABLE 1. Countries with Larger Populations than Canada in 1982[1]**

| Country | Population[2] |
|---|---|
| 1. China | 1,032,000,000 |
| 2. India | 683,810,000 |
| 3. U.S.S.R. | 262,436,000 |
| 4. U.S.A. | 226,546,000 |
| 5. Indonesia | 147,490,000 |
| 6. Brazil | 118,675,000 |
| 7. Japan | 117,057,000 |
| 8. Bangladesh | 87,052,000 |
| 9. Pakistan | 83,782,000 |
| 10. Mexico | 67,396,000 |
| 11. F.R.G. | 60,651,000 |
| 12. Italy | 56,244,000 |
| 13. Nigeria | 55,670,000 |
| 14. United Kingdom | 55,506,000 |
| 15. Vietnam | 52,742,000 |
| 16. France | 52,656,000 |
| 17. Philippines | 47,900,000 |
| 18. Turkey | 44,737,000 |
| 19. Thailand | 44,278,000 |
| 20. Spain | 37,746,000 |
| 21. South Korea | 37,449,000 |
| 22. Egypt | 36,626,000 |
| 23. Poland | 36,061,000 |
| 24. Iran | 33,592,000 |
| 25. Burma | 28,886,000 |
| 26. Argentina | 27,947,000 |
| 27. North Korea | 25,120,000 |
| 28. Canada[3] | 24,343,000 |
| **29. World Total** | **4,415,000,000** |

[1] *Population and Vital Statistics Report,* United Nations, October 1982 and January 1983.
[2] These were the most up-to-date figures available when the reports were published.
[3] 1981 Census of Canada.

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the most recent United Nations data, Canada is in 28th place in the world (Table 1). The period from 1961 to 1983 witnessed a steady decline in population growth rate, which had been particularly high during the 1950s. Average annual growth dropped from 2.8% in 1951-56 to 1.1% in 1976-81. Not since the end of the 19th century (except during the depression decade of the 1930s) has Canada recorded such slow growth.

Canada thus ranks among the slow-growth countries in a world where many developing countries are still growing very rapidly – for example, Nicaragua (4.6%), the Arab Republic of Syria (3.8%), El Salvador (3.7%), Guatemala, Honduras and Mexico (3.6%), Sudan, Ethiopia and the Ivory Coast (3.5%), and Jordan and Ecuador (3.4%). Among the developed nations, however, Canada is one of the leaders, close behind Australia (1.3%), but slightly ahead of the United States (1.0%), and considerably ahead of the USSR (0.9%), Japan (0.9%), France (0.4%) and Belgium (0.1%), not to mention the United Kingdom (0.0%) and the Federal Republic of Germany, the population of which is shrinking (− 0.2%).

## National Demographic Accounting System

In comparison with the post war period, the slowing of population growth stems partly from a decline in the migration balance, but primarily from a decrease in fertility. Between 1951 and 1961, the average annual balance of migration was 6.8 people per 1,000 population. Between 1971 and 1981, it fell to 3.8 per 1,000, and in 1981-83 it stood at an estimated 3.1 per 1,000.

The highest birth rate since the war, 28 per 1,000 was recorded in 1957. It has declined steadily ever since, reaching less than 15 per 1,000 in 1983.

Table 2 presents a recent picture of the components of Canada's demographic accounts: births, deaths and migration. The accounts for the individual provinces and territories are given in Table 59 of the Appendix.

### Births

After declining between 1971-72 and 1973-74, the number of births in Canada began to rise steadily, and continues to do so. The birth rate, on the other hand, dipped slightly over the period, from 16.3 per 1,000 in 1972 to 14.8 per 1,000 in 1983 (preliminary estimate). While the increase in births is due in small part to the net migration gains of recent years, it can be chiefly ascribed to the fact that a growing number of females born between the early 1950s and the mid-1960s were entering their childbearing years. It is not the result of an upturn in fertility.

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**TABLE 2. Demographic Accounts of Canada,[1], 1971 - 1983**

| Year | Population on June 1 | Total increase[2] | Rate per 1,000 | Births[2] | Rate per 1,000 | Deaths[2] | Rate per 1,000 | Natural increase[2] | Rate per 1,000 | Net migration[2,5] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1951 | 14,009,400[4] | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 1971 | 21,568,300[4] | 377,900[3] | 21.6[3] | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 1972 | 21,801,300[6] | 233,000 | 10.7 | 353,500 | 16.3 | 159,100 | 7.3 | 194,400 | 9.0 | 38,600 |
| 1973 | 22,043,000[6] | 241,700 | 11.0 | 345,400 | 15.8 | 162,300 | 7.4 | 183,100 | 8.4 | 58,600 |
| 1974 | 22,363,900[6] | 320,900 | 14.5 | 342,000 | 15.4 | 166,000 | 7.5 | 176,000 | 7.9 | 144,900 |
| 1975 | 22,697,100[6] | 333,200 | 14.8 | 354,200 | 15.7 | 169,200 | 7.5 | 185,000 | 8.2 | 148,200 |
| 1976 | 22,992,600[4] | 295,500 | 12.9 | 363,000 | 15.9 | 166,600 | 7.3 | 196,400 | 8.6 | 99,100 |
| 1977 | 23,272,800[6] | 280,200 | 12.1 | 358,500 | 15.5 | 166,000 | 7.2 | 192,500 | 8.3 | 87,700 |
| 1978 | 23,517,000[6] | 244,200 | 10.4 | 358,500 | 15.3 | 168,500 | 7.2 | 190,000 | 8.1 | 54,200 |
| 1979 | 23,747,300[6] | 230,300 | 9.7 | 364,600 | 15.4 | 165,900 | 7.0 | 198,700 | 8.4 | 31,600 |
| 1980 | 24,042,500[6] | 295,200 | 12.4 | 367,200 | 15.4 | 171,300 | 7.2 | 195,900 | 8.2 | 99,300 |
| 1981 | 24,343,200[4] | 300,700 | 12.4 | 371,500 | 15.4 | 170,300 | 7.0 | 201,200 | 8.3 | 99,500 |
| 1982 | 24,634,200[7] | 291,000[8] | 11.98 | 370,200[8] | 15.18 | 170,800[8] | 7.08 | 199,400[8] | 8.18 | 91,600[8] |
| 1983 | 24,889,800[7] | 255,600[8] | 10.38 | 367,500[8] | 14.88 | 172,700[8] | 7.08 | 194,800[8] | 7.98 | 60,800[8] |

1 Demographic accounts of provinces, in Appendix (Table 59).
2 From June 1 of the preceding year to May 31 of the year in question.
3 Average annual growth, June 1, 1951 to June 1, 1971.
4 Census data for Canada.
5 Difference between total increase and natural increase.
6 Final intercensal estimate.
7 Preliminary postcensal estimate.
8 Preliminary data.

**Source:** Statistics Canada, Censuses of Canada and Catalogue No. 91-201.

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## Deaths

The number of deaths is growing steadily each year because of both population growth and the increase in the elderly population. However, the death rate continues to fall because there are still large numbers of people in the low-risk age groups. In 1983, the estimated death rate was 7.0 per 1,000, the lowest figure ever recorded in Canada.

## Natural Increase

Natural increase is the excess of births over deaths. In recent years, the rate of natural increase has hovered around 8.2 per 1,000, the equivalent of an annual growth more than one and a half times the population of Prince Edward Island. As always, natural increase accounted for the major proportion of population growth, 69% in the 1976-81 period and 77% in the 1982-83 year alone.

## Migration

The balance of migration, although still positive, plays a smaller role in total growth (31% in the 1976-81 intercensal period). The estimate of 60,800 migrants for 1982-83 reflects Employment and Immigration Canada's tightening of entry visa restrictions on selected workers since the 1976-81 period, when the annual average was 74,000.

## Marriage and Divorce

Births, deaths and migration are directly responsible for numerical changes in the population, but other factors such as marriage and divorce exert an indirect influence. These two factors are presented in Table 3, along with two other major indicators of national health, namely life expectancy at birth and the infant mortality rate.

Despite an upswing in 1979 and 1980, the total number of marriages (regardless of marital status at the time of marriage) has been dropping by an average of 1,200 per year since 1972. However, the proportion of remarriages has climbed steadily and in 1982 reached 20.6% for men and 18.8% for women. This means that for both sexes almost one marriage in five is a remarriage. Not surprisingly, the marriage rate among the single population is lower than at any time in the past, including the economic depression of the 1930s. If future cohorts were to maintain the pace set in 1982, only 65 males and 66 females per 100 would marry at least once.

In distinct contrast to the declining number of marriages, the number of divorces is rising. In 1982, there were 70,436 divorces; or to put it another way, while 100 couples were formed through marriage that year, 37 couples were divorced. From 1976 to 1980, the annual number of divorces increased by 2.1%, 3.2%, 4.1% and 4.3% respectively. Overall, the total divorce rate rose 82% in 10 years, reaching 365 per 1,000 in 1982.

**TABLE 3. Marriages, Divorces and Major Indexes, Canada, 1971 - 1981**

| Year | Marriages | Percentage of remarriages | | Total first marriage rate (per 1,000 single persons age 15) | | Divorces | Total divorce rate (per 1,000 marriages) | Life expectancy at birth | | Infant mortality (per 1,000 live births) | | |
|------|-----------|------|------|------|------|----------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| | | Male | Female | Male | Female | | | Male | Female | Total | Neo-natal | Post-neo-natal |
| | | % | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1971 | 191,324 | 11.8 | 11.5 | 954.7 | 911.9 | 29,685 | 188.5 | 69.34 | 76.36 | 17.5 | 12.4 | 5.2 |
| 1972 | 200,470 | 11.9 | 11.6 | 967.6 | 928.2 | 32,389 | 200.7 | 69.43² | 76.55² | 17.1 | 11.9 | 5.2 |
| 1973 | 199,064 | 12.9 | 12.5 | 924.3 | 889.3 | 36,704 | 223.3 | 69.46² | 76.70² | 15.5 | 10.8 | 4.8 |
| 1974 | 198,824 | 14.2 | 13.4 | 970.1 | 843.5 | 45,019 | 267.3 | 69.66² | 76.97² | 15.0 | 10.1 | 4.9 |
| 1975 | 197,585 | 15.5 | 14.6 | 834.6 | 812.4 | 50,611 | 293.2 | 69.94² | 77.31² | 14.3 | 9.7 | 4.6 |
| 1976 | 193,343 | 16.7 | 15.8 | 760.4 | 741.5 | 54,207 | 307.2 | 70.19 | 77.48 | 13.5 | 9.1 | 4.3 |
| 1977 | 187,344 | 17.0 | 16.3 | 740.0 | 725.1 | 55,370 | 306.3 | 70.55² | 78.02² | 12.4 | 8.3 | 4.1 |
| 1978 | 185,523 | 18.1 | 17.0 | 709.9 | 700.8 | 57,155 | 309.3 | 70.89² | 78.33² | 12.0 | 8.0 | 3.9 |
| 1979 | 187,811 | 18.7 | 17.5 | 700.6 | 696.1 | 59,474 | 318.0 | 71.14² | 78.58² | 10.9 | 7.2 | 3.7 |
| 1980 | 191,069 | 19.3 | 17.9 | 692.5 | 695.7 | 62,019 | 325.1 | 71.52² | 78.84² | 10.4 | 6.7 | 3.8 |
| 1981 | 190,082 | 20.0 | 18.7 | 679.0 | 676.9 | 67,671 | 352.9 | 71.87¹ | 79.05¹ | 9.6 | 6.4 | 3.2 |
| 1982 | 188,360 | 20.6 | 18.8 | 656.4 | 663.0 | 70,436 | 365.5 | - | - | - | - | - |

[1] Preliminary estimates.
[2] Approximate value.

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## Life Expectancy at Birth

Based on the latest life tables (1980-81-82), the life expectancy of Canadian men and women has increased by 1.7 and 1.6 years respectively over the past five years. These gains are far higher than those recorded during the preceding five-year period (0.94 for men and 1.1 for women). For the first time, males fared better than females, albeit only by a very slight margin. Thus, the life expectancy gap between the sexes narrowed somewhat, which is unprecedented.

## Infant Mortality

Infant mortality, still regarded as an important indicator of health, is increasingly seen as a major sign of medical progress as well. It continues to decline and has fallen below the 10 per 1,000 mark. However, in contrast to the situation that prevailed during most of the decline, post-neonatal deaths are accounting for a growing proportion of infant mortality, which indicates that neonatal deaths are decreasing more rapidly than post-neonatal deaths. One possible explanation for this surprising development is that mortality during the neonatal period is being shifted to the post-neonatal period as a result of medical breakthroughs that are prolonging the lives of infants born with severe handicaps.

## Urban and Rural Population Profiles

Ever since the census started providing data on urban and rural populations, urban growth has topped rural growth, resulting in a steady decline in the rural component of Canada's total population. Changes in concepts and census definitions[1] have not been significant enough to affect the validity of statistics showing more rapid urban growth. To date, movement to the cities and international migration have been responsible for the difference in growth between the two populations, not to mention the ongoing promotion of agglomerations to the status of cities. In the 1981 Census, 75.7% of the total population was urban and 24.3% rural.

Breaking with tradition during the second half of the 1970s, the rural population increased faster than the urban population (Table 4). The growth rate for the former was 8.9%, compared with only 5% for the latter. In the Maritimes, the urban population actually declined and in Quebec and Manitoba, it remained almost unchanged, whereas Quebec's rural population grew by 14%. Only Saskatchewan and the Yukon carried on the tradition of urban growth and rural decline. Alberta recorded increases in both populations, 24% for urban and 14.8% for rural. British Columbia followed suit, although its rural population had the higher growth rate.

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[1] Since 1971, the definition of urban population has not been changed. Population situated within an area of at least 1,000 inhabitants with a density greater than 400 persons per $km^2$ is classified as urban.

**TABLE 4. Urban and Rural Population, Canada, the Provinces and Territories, 1976 and 1981 and Percentage Change**

| Province | 1976 | | | 1981 | | | Percentage change | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | Urban | Rural | Total | Urban | Rural | Total | Urban %| Rural |
| Newfoundland | 557,725 | 331,504 | 226,221 | 567,681 | 332,898 | 234,783 | 1.8 | 0.4 | 3.8 |
| Prince Edward Island | 118,229 | 46,346 | 71,883 | 122,506 | 44,515 | 77,991 | 3.6 | −4.0 | 8.5 |
| Nova Scotia | 828,571 | 468,155 | 360,416 | 847,442 | 466,842 | 380,600 | 2.3 | −0.3 | 5.6 |
| New Brunswick | 677,250 | 362,479 | 314,771 | 696,403 | 353,220 | 343,183 | 2.8 | −2.6 | 9.0 |
| Quebec | 6,234,445 | 4,966,316 | 1,268,129 | 6,438,403 | 4,993,839 | 1,444,564 | 3.3 | 0.6 | 13.9 |
| Ontario | 8,264,465 | 6,771,309 | 1,493,156 | 8,625,107 | 7,047,032 | 1,578,075 | 4.4 | 4.1 | 5.7 |
| Manitoba | 1,021,506 | 726,253 | 295,253 | 1,026,241 | 730,659 | 295,582 | 0.5 | 0.6 | 0.1 |
| Saskatchewan | 921,323 | 514,627 | 406,696 | 968,313 | 563,166 | 405,147 | 5.1 | 9.4 | −0.4 |
| Alberta | 1,838,037 | 1,393,486 | 444,551 | 2,237,724 | 1,727,545 | 510,179 | 21.7 | 24.0 | 14.8 |
| British Columbia | 2,466,608 | 1,951,247 | 515,361 | 2,744,467 | 2,139,412 | 605,055 | 11.3 | 9.6 | 17.4 |
| Yukon | 21,836 | 13,311 | 8,525 | 23,153 | 14,814 | 8,339 | 6.0 | 11.3 | −2.2 |
| Northwest Territories | 42,609 | 21,163 | 21,446 | 45,741 | 21,985 | 23,756 | 7.4 | 3.9 | 10.8 |
| **Canada** | **22,992,604** | **17,566,196** | **5,426,408** | **24,343,181** | **18,435,927** | **5,907,254** | **5.9** | **5.0** | **8.9** |

Source: Statistics Canada, 1981 Census of Canada, Catalogue Nos. 93-901 to 93-912.

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## Census Metropolitan Areas (CMAs)

Although the current definition of a Census Metropolitan Area (CMA) still stresses the long-standing concept of a large urbanized core, it has taken on the added socio-economic notion of "main labour market", as well as the interdependence of the area's component parts. Thus, CMAs are entities worthy of special consideration in the national urban profile.[2] At the time of the 1981 Census, 56% of Canadians resided in Census Metropolitan Areas. While an exact comparison is possible only between 1976 and 1981, it can be seen that the situation has changed little since 1971, when 55.5% lived in CMAs, compared with 55.6% in 1976.

As might be expected, population growth in the CMAs during the last intercensal period (1976-81) closely paralleled the national rate of growth (5.8% compared with 5.9%). This comparison allows for the addition of Trois-Rivières, which did not exist as a CMA in 1976, by including its 1976 population figure in the CMA total for that year. Furthermore, the comparisons were made for identical geographical units based on the 1981 boundaries.

The growth rates of the individual CMAs varied widely from 1976 to 1981, their differences apparently being closely linked to the strength of economic activity (Table 5). It therefore comes as no surprise that Edmonton and Calgary registered gains of 18% and 26% respectively when the Alberta oil industry was booming. In Ontario and Quebec, whose economies are more diversified, some CMAs expanded fairly rapidly, some recorded a slower rate of growth and still others actually shrank. Toronto's growth rate was 7%, but Windsor recorded a decline of 0.6% and Sudbury 4.5%. Montreal's growth was negligible, while Quebec City grew by 6.3% and Chicoutimi-Jonquière and Trois-Rivières by 5.1% each.

## CMA Internal Growth

Census Metropolitan Areas are divided into urban cores (which include the largest city), urban fringes and rural fringes. This makes it appear as if each CMA is composed of concentric circles in which population density decreases as one moves outward from the centre. Actually, the situation is far more complex, and there are no simple explanations for the uneven growth observed in different parts of the CMAs. The principal causes lie in their histories of widely varying length and complexity and in their geographic locations, which are not all equally conducive to expansion. The only indisputable observation is that with one exception (London), all fringe areas have recorded positive growth rates. However, their average rate of increase (22.1%) applies to a population of only about 1 million, or 8% of the population of the CMAs, two-thirds of which resides in the rural fringes. This supports the important observation made earlier about rural population growth. A growing portion of the population, although relying on the city for jobs, shopping, entertainment, health care and so on, seems to prefer living in the adjacent rural fringe.

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[2] See glossary in Appendix.

## TABLE 5. Growth of Census Metropolitan Areas, Canada, 1976 - 1981

| Census Metropolitan Area | Urbanized core | | | Urban fringe | | | Rural fringe | | | Total | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1976 | 1981 | Change in % | 1976 | 1981 | Change in % | 1976 | 1981 | Change in % | 1976 | 1981 | Change in % |
| Calgary | 471,397 | 592,743 | 25.7 | – | – | – | – | – | – | 471,397 | 592,743 | 25.7 |
| Chicoutimi-Jonquière | 110,903 | 110,024 | -0.8 | 1,545 | 1,790 | 15.9 | 16,195 | 23,358 | 44.2 | 128,643 | 135,172 | 5.1 |
| Edmonton | 515,598 | 595,557 | 15.5 | 13,021 | 20,915 | 60.6 | 27,651 | 40,585 | 46.8 | 556,270 | 657,057 | 18.1 |
| Halifax | 216,845 | 222,355 | 2.5 | 3,488 | 4,437 | 27.2 | 47,658 | 50,935 | 6.9 | 267,991 | 277,727 | 3.6 |
| Hamilton | 488,038 | 500,421 | 2.5 | – | – | – | 41,333 | 41,674 | 0.8 | 529,371 | 542,095 | 2.4 |
| Kitchener | 250,876 | 266,345 | 6.2 | 8,290 | 8,421 | 1.6 | 12,992 | 13,035 | 0.3 | 272,158 | 287,801 | 5.7 |
| London | 246,544 | 260,443 | 5.6 | – | – | – | 23,839 | 23,225 | -2.6 | 270,383 | 283,668 | 4.9 |
| Montreal | 2,656,862 | 2,651,477 | -0.2 | 92,794 | 104,333 | 12.4 | 52,891 | 72,539 | 37.1 | 2,802,547 | 2,828,349 | 0.9 |
| Oshawa | 129,735 | 146,580 | 13.0 | – | – | – | 5,461 | 7,637 | 39.8 | 135,196 | 154,217 | 14.1 |
| Ottawa-Hull Ontario | 455,372 | 465,730 | 2.3 | 18,535 | 28,845 | 55.6 | 47,434 | 52,824 | 11.4 | 521,341 | 547,399 | 5.0 |
| Quebec | 152,722 | 149,053 | -2.4 | – | – | – | 19,225 | 21,526 | 12.0 | 171,947 | 170,579 | -0.8 |
| Quebec | 507,941 | 523,891 | 3.1 | 1,858 | 1,896 | 2.0 | 32,359 | 50,288 | 55.4 | 542,158 | 576,075 | 6.3 |
| Regina | 149,608 | 162,613 | 8.7 | – | – | – | 1,583 | 1,700 | 7.4 | 151,191 | 164,313 | 8.7 |
| St. John, N.B. | 95,612 | 91,822 | -4.0 | 2,016 | 2,329 | 15.5 | 15,346 | 19,897 | 29.7 | 112,974 | 114,048 | 1.0 |
| St. John's, Nfld. | 106,756 | 110,022 | 3.1 | 19,201 | 21,672 | 12.9 | 19,443 | 23,126 | 18.9 | 145,400 | 154,820 | 6.5 |
| Saskatoon | 133,793 | 154,210 | 15.3 | – | – | – | – | – | – | 133,793 | 154,210 | 15.3 |
| St. Catharines-Niagara | 274,598 | 276,739 | 0.8 | 4,288 | 4,045 | -5.7 | 23,035 | 23,569 | 2.3 | 301,921 | 304,353 | 0.8 |
| Sudbury | 118,450 | 111,238 | -6.1 | 22,988 | 23,708 | 3.1 | 15,592 | 14,977 | -3.8 | 157,030 | 149,923 | -4.5 |
| Thunder Bay | 108,590 | 109,365 | 0.7 | – | – | – | 10,663 | 12,014 | 12.7 | 119,253 | 121,379 | 1.8 |
| Toronto | 2,704,981 | 2,852,192 | 5.4 | 29,345 | 46,922 | 59.9 | 68,775 | 99,833 | 45.2 | 2,803,101 | 2,998,947 | 7.0 |
| Trois-Rivières | 100,414 | 103,233 | 2.8 | – | – | – | 5,617 | 8,220 | 46.3 | 106,031 | 111,453 | 5.1 |
| Vancouver | 1,059,344 | 1,140,451 | 7.7 | 46,972 | 56,182 | 19.6 | 60,032 | 71,550 | 19.2 | 1,166,348 | 1,268,183 | 8.7 |
| Victoria | 199,654 | 209,697 | 5.0 | 8,314 | 10,121 | 21.7 | 10,282 | 13,663 | 32.9 | 218,250 | 233,481 | 7.0 |
| Windsor | 217,250 | 215,116 | -1.0 | 5,577 | 6,295 | 12.9 | 24,755 | 24,699 | -0.2 | 247,582 | 246,110 | -0.6 |
| Winnipeg | 560,080 | 563,668 | 0.6 | – | – | – | 18,137 | 21,174 | 16.7 | 578,217 | 584,842 | 1.1 |
| **Total** | **12,031,963** | **12,584,985** | **4.6** | **278,232** | **341,911** | **22.9** | **600,298** | **732,048** | **21.9** | **12,910,493** | **13,658,944** | **5.8** |

**Source:** Statistics Canada, 1981 Census of Canada, Catalogues Nos. 93-901 to 93-910.

**TABLE 6. Population Growth of Census Agglomerations, Canada and Provinces, 1976 - 1981**

| Province | Urbanized core | | | Urban fringe | | | Rural fringe | | | Total | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1976 | 1981 | Change in % | 1976 | 1981 | Change in % | 1976 | 1981 | Change in % | 1976 | 1981 | Change in % |
| Newfoundland | 65,795 | 63,508 | – 3.5 | – | – | – | 9,807 | 10,949 | 11.6 | 75,062 | 74,457 | – 1.5 |
| Prince Edward Island | 38,527 | 36,162 | – 6.1 | 1,256 | 1,838 | 46.3 | 17,042 | 21,949 | 28.8 | 56,825 | 59,949 | 5.5 |
| Nova Scotia | 106,995 | 104,886 | – 2.0 | 44,045 | 43,067 | – 2.2 | 69,348 | 74,967 | 8.1 | 220,388 | 222,920 | 1.1 |
| New Brunswick | 173,993 | 170,378 | – 2.1 | 3,909 | 4,828 | 23.5 | 53,925 | 62,911 | 16.7 | 231,827 | 238,117 | 2.7 |
| Quebec | 729,077 | 733,949 | 0.7 | 9,872 | 10,531 | 6.7 | 117,459 | 150,211 | 27.9 | 856,408 | 894,691 | 4.5 |
| Ontario | 885,272 | 1,001,496 | 13.1 | 26,970 | 28,888 | 7.1 | 215,967 | 226,532 | 4.9 | 1,128,209 | 1,256,916 | 11.4 |
| Manitoba | 38,030 | 35,268 | – 7.3 | – | – | – | 7,573 | 7,660 | 1.1 | 45,603 | 42,928 | – 5.9 |
| Saskatchewan | 95,004 | 100,902 | 6.2 | – | – | – | 10,355 | 10,765 | 4.0 | 105,359 | 111,667 | 6.0 |
| Alberta | 35,847 | 44,258 | 23.5 | – | – | – | 5,581 | 5,387 | – 3.5 | 41,428 | 49,645 | 19.8 |
| British Columbia | 324,398 | 355,337 | 9.5 | 32,704 | 35,544 | 8.7 | 100,632 | 121,433 | 20.7 | 457,734 | 512,314 | 11.9 |
| **Total** | **2,492,938** | **2,646,144** | **6.2** | **118,756** | **124,696** | **5.0** | **607,689** | **692,764** | **14.0** | **3,219,383** | **3,463,504** | **7.6** |

Some of the reasons for this trend may be lower tax rates, easy transportation thanks to efficient road systems, apparently less pollution and more living space. Nevertheless, of the 750,000-person increase in total CMA population between 1976 and 1981, 75% resided in the urban cores and only 18% in the rural fringes.

## Census Agglomerations (CAs)

Population growth in the Census Agglomerations (CAs) followed much the same pattern as that in the Census Metropolitan Areas (Table 6). There is a similar heavy growth in the rural fringes. East of Ontario, urban cores have shrunk quite markedly, while the suburbs (the rural fringes in particular) have grown. West of Quebec, the urban cores have on the whole expanded faster than the rural fringes. This east-west discrepancy, previously noted in the growth of the Census Metropolitan Areas, shows that Western cities, probably because they are younger, seem to have less crowded or more attractive urban cores than Eastern cities.

# POPULATION OF THE PROVINCES AND TERRITORIES

## The Past Thirty Years in Retrospect

Since the dynamic post-war period between 1951 and 1956, annual regional population growth has shown a steady overall decline, even though each region has evolved in its own way (Table 7). Over time, there has been an increasingly sharp difference between growth rates in Western, Central and Eastern Canada. During the past 30 years, average annual growth in Central Canada fell from 3% in 1951-56 to 0.7% in 1976-81; and in the East it dipped from 1.7% to 0.5%. The West, on the other hand, despite a slump in the 1960s, maintained a growth rate in the neighbourhood of 2% (2.7% in 1951-56, 2.2% in 1976-81).

Only the two central provinces had steadily declining annual growth rates. The general downward trend was occasionally interrupted by slight upturns in other provinces, namely Newfoundland and New Brunswick between 1971

TABLE 7. Average Annual[1] Rate of Total Growth (in per cent), Canada, Provinces and Territories, 1951 - 1983

| Province | 1951 1956 | 1956 1961 | 1961 1966 | 1966 1971 | 1971 1976 | 1976 1981 | 1981 1982 | 1982 1983 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Newfoundland | 2.8 | 2.0 | 1.5 | 1.1 | 1.3 | 0.4 | 0.3 | 1.5 |
| Prince Edward Island | 0.2 | 1.1 | 0.7 | 0.6 | 1.2 | 0.7 | 0.2 | 1.0 |
| Nova Scotia | 1.6 | 1.2 | 0.5 | 0.9 | 1.0 | 0.5 | 0.6 | 0.8 |
| New Brunswick | 1.5 | 1.5 | 0.6 | 0.6 | 1.3 | 0.6 | 0.4 | 1.1 |
| East | 1.7 | 1.5 | 0.8 | 0.8 | 1.2 | 0.5 | 0.4 | 1.1 |
| Quebec | 2.6 | 2.6 | 1.9 | 0.8 | 0.7 | 0.6 | 0.7 | 0.6 |
| Ontario | 3.2 | 2.9 | 2.2 | 2.0 | 1.4 | 0.9 | 1.1 | 1.1 |
| Central | 3.0 | 2.8 | 2.1 | 1.5 | 1.1 | 0.8 | 0.9 | 0.9 |
| Manitoba | 1.8 | 1.6 | 0.9 | 0.5 | 0.7 | – | 0.9 | 1.2 |
| Saskatchewan | 1.1 | 1.0 | 0.6 | – 0.6 | – 0.1 | 1.0 | 1.2 | 1.4 |
| Alberta | 3.6 | 3.4 | 1.9 | 2.1 | 2.4 | 3.9 | 3.6 | 1.4 |
| British Columbia | 3.6 | 3.1 | 2.8 | 3.1 | 2.4 | 2.1 | 1.7 | 1.2 |
| West | 2.7 | 2.5 | 1.8 | 1.7 | 1.8 | 2.2 | 2.1 | 1.3 |
| Yukon | 6.0 | 3.6 | – 0.3 | 4.9 | 3.4 | 1.2 | 2.5 | – 6.5 |
| Northwest Territories | 3.8 | 3.5 | 4.4 | 3.8 | 4.0 | 1.4 | 3.1 | 2.5 |
| North | 4.6 | 3.6 | 2.8 | 4.2 | 3.8 | 1.3 | 2.9 | – 0.4 |
| **Canada** | **2.8** | **2.5** | **1.9** | **1.5** | **1.3** | **1.1** | **1.2** | **1.0** |

[1] Census years (June 1 to May 31).

and 1976 and Nova Scotia and British Columbia from 1966 to 1976. The pattern was more complex in Prince Edward Island and Saskatchewan, the latter in particular shifting back and forth between growth and decline over successive five-year periods. This is true of the Yukon as well. Manitoba too deserves special mention, since its growth rate dropped suddenly to nearly zero after gradually declining; beginning in 1966, however, it managed to maintain about the same level of growth as Quebec. Manitoba's average annual growth rate in 1976-81 was only one-twentieth of what it had been in 1951-56. In the whole 30 year period, Ontario's growth rate fell below the national average only once (1976-77).

## The Past Two Years

The two most recent census years are quite dissimilar in terms of demographic events. In 1981-82, the very slight upturn in national growth (Table 7) may have been only momentary. Certainly the individual provincial trends were in line with the average over the previous five years. The changes observed in the North involved numbers too small to be of any significance. Data for 1982-83, on the other hand, seem to indicate that changes are occurring. Growth rates in the Eastern provinces were surprising, the Yukon's population shrank as never before (−6.5%). Even more noteworthy is the fact that growth in Alberta slowed considerably, dropping from 3.6% to a mere 1.4%. (It will be shown later how interprovincial migration accounted for these changes.) Still, Canada's overall growth rate continued to decline and stood at 1.0% in 1982-83. These findings are based on the observations of a single year and hence may not signal new trends.

## Natural Increase

Since natural increase is the main component of total growth, it is to be expected that all provinces, with perhaps a few exceptions, should exhibit the same general trend – a declining rate of natural increase. All provincial rates save Alberta's fell between 50% and 65% during the 30-year period under review. Yet, it is the exceptions that arouse our curiosity.

Small upswings in natural increase (Table 8), as well as fluctuations in the rates of decline, are not so much the result of different provincial rates of fertility and mortality – although such differences do exist – as they are of the age structure of the populations. These structural differences are largely due to previous migration.

Regardless of the period studied, the variations among provincial rates of natural increase remained fairly constant and the lowest provincial rate recorded was roughly half the highest one. In five of the six five-year periods comprising the 30-year period, first and last place were held by the same two provinces, Newfoundland and British Columbia respectively, the farthest apart

geographically. In this brief analysis, the Yukon and the Northwest Territories must be considered separately, because the fertility and mortality levels of much of the native population differ markedly from those of the provinces.

**TABLE 8. Average Annual Rate of Natural Increase (per 1,000), Canada, Provinces and Territories, 1951 - 1983**

| Province | 1951 1956 | 1956 1961 | 1961 1966 | 1966 1971 | 1971 1976 | 1976 1981 | 1981 1982 | 1982 1983 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Newfoundland | 26.7 | 27.1 | 25.1 | 19.3 | 16.3 | 13.1 | 12.4 | 12.1 |
| Prince Edward Island | 18.1 | 17.0 | 16.0 | 9.5 | 7.9 | 7.7 | 8.1 | 7.8 |
| Nova Scotia | 18.9 | 18.2 | 16.0 | 9.7 | 8.0 | 6.6 | 6.6 | 5.6 |
| New Brunswick | 22.3 | 20.7 | 17.5 | 11.3 | 10.0 | 8.5 | 7.9 | 7.3 |
| Quebec | 22.0 | 21.1 | 16.6 | 9.8 | 7.4 | 8.4 | 7.9 | 7.5 |
| Ontario | 17.2 | 18.0 | 14.8 | 10.2 | 8.2 | 7.2 | 6.9 | 6.8 |
| Manitoba | 18.1 | 17.2 | 14.9 | 10.1 | 8.9 | 7.9 | 7.5 | 8.0 |
| Saskatchewan | 20.1 | 19.1 | 16.1 | 10.8 | 8.3 | 9.9 | 9.9 | 9.5 |
| Alberta | 23.5 | 23.5˙ | 19.3 | 13.6 | 11.1 | 12.1 | 12.9 | 12.2 |
| British Columbia | 15.3 | 16.6 | 11.9 | 8.7 | 7.1 | 7.3 | 7.8 | 7.4 |
| Yukon | 31.2 | 31.4 | 28.1 | 20.0 | 16.7 | 15.8 | 18.0 | 18.4 |
| Northwest Territories | 22.0 | 31.5 | 36.4 | 32.0 | 24.3 | 23.7 | 21.4 | 19.8 |
| **Canada** | **19.6** | **19.5** | **15.9** | **10.5** | **8.4** | **8.3** | 8.1 | 7.9 |

**Source:** Statistics Canada, based on data from Censuses of Canada and *Estimates of Population for Canada and the Provinces,* Catalogue No. 91-201.

There have been no changes in the past two years (1981-82 and 1982-83) in the natural increase averages; they remain the same as those of the preceding intercensal period (Table 9). Overall, the decline in natural increase rates continued and, though the ranking of the provinces shifted to some degree, such changes may be fortuitous.

The high rates for Newfoundland and Alberta stem from two converging factors: high birth rates and low mortality rates. The former are the product of relatively high fertility (2.0 children per woman) coupled with a favourable age structure; women aged 15 to 40 make up 23.5% and 22.2% of the Newfoundland and Alberta populations respectively (compared with the Canadian average of 22.1%). The population structure also accounts for the low mortality rates; persons over 65 constitute only 8.0% of Newfoundland's population and 7.3% of Alberta's, while the national average stands at 9.9%.

By contrast, Saskatchewan's high rate of natural increase is due entirely to the fertility of its female population rather than to the demographic structure: females between 15 and 40 make up only 20% of the population.

**TABLE 9. Selected Demographic Rates[1] and Indexes, Canada, the Provinces and Territories 1981 - 82[2] and 1982 - 83[2]**

| | Year | Nfld. | P.E.I. | N.S. | N.B. | Que. | Ont. | Man. | Sask. | Alta. | B.C. | Yukon | N.W.T. | Canada |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Birth rate | 1981 - 82 | 18.2 | 16.2 | 14.8 | 15.4 | 14.6 | 14.1 | 15.9 | 12.6 | 18.3 | 14.9 | 23.9 | 25.9 | 15.1 |
| | 1982 - 83 | 17.5 | 15.9 | 13.8 | 14.9 | 14.8 | 14.0 | 16.2 | 17.2 | 17.5 | 14.6 | 23.8 | 23.9 | 14.8 |
| Total fertility rate[3] | 1981 - 82 | 1,976 | 1,868 | 1,633 | 1,698 | 1,623 | 1,615 | 1,822 | 2,122 | 1,928 | 1,659 | 2,142 | 2,979 | 1,704 |
| Death rate | 1981 - 82 | 5.8 | 8.2 | 7.7 | 7.5 | 6.7 | 7.2 | 8.4 | 7.7 | 5.4 | 7.1 | 5.8 | 4.6 | 7.0 |
| | 1982 - 83 | 5.4 | 8.0 | 8.1 | 7.6 | 6.8 | 7.2 | 8.2 | 7.7 | 5.3 | 7.2 | 5.5 | 4.1 | 7.0 |
| Life expectancy at birth (1981)[4],[5] | Male | 72.0 | 72.8 | 71.1 | 70.9 | 71.0 | 72.3 | 72.1 | 72.6 | 72.0 | 72.6 | .. | .. | 71.9 |
| | Female | 78.5 | 80.5 | 78.2 | 78.7 | 78.7 | 79.0 | 78.7 | 79.9 | 78.9 | 79.4 | .. | .. | 78.9 |
| Rate of natural increase | 1981 - 82 | 12.4 | 8.1 | 6.6 | 7.9 | 7.9 | 6.9 | 7.5 | 9.9 | 12.9 | 7.8 | 18.0 | 21.4 | 8.1 |
| | 1982 - 83 | 12.1 | 7.8 | 5.6 | 7.3 | 7.5 | 6.8 | 8.0 | 9.5 | 12.2 | 7.4 | 18.4 | 19.8 | 7.9 |
| Rate of total increase | 1981 - 82 | 2.7 | 2.0 | 5.7 | 3.9 | 6.8 | 10.5 | 8.7 | 11.5 | 35.0 | 16.6 | 25.0 | 31.0 | 11.9 |
| | 1982 - 83 | 15.1 | 10.2 | 8.2 | 10.8 | 6.0 | 11.4 | 11.5 | 13.5 | 14.1 | 12.1 | -64.5 | 25.2 | 10.3 |
| Net migration rate | 1981 - 82 | -9.7 | -6.1 | -0.9 | -4.0 | -1.1 | 3.6 | 1.2 | 1.6 | 22.1 | 8.8 | 7.0 | 9.6 | 3.8 |
| | 1982 - 83 | 3.0 | 2.4 | 2.6 | 3.5 | -1.5 | 4.6 | 3.5 | 4.0 | 1.9 | 4.7 | -82.9 | 5.4 | 2.4 |
| Percentage of women 15 - 40 in total population on December 1 | 1981 | 22.0 | 20.7 | 21.5 | 21.7 | 22.7 | 21.7 | 20.8 | 20.1 | 23.4 | 21.7 | 25.7 | 23.0 | 22.0 |
| | 1982 | 22.2 | 20.7 | 21.6 | 21.8 | 22.7 | 21.7 | 20.9 | 20.2 | 23.5 | 21.7 | 25.3 | 23.3 | 22.1 |
| Percentage of population 65 and over on December 1 | 1981 | 7.8 | 12.3 | 11.0 | 10.2 | 8.9 | 10.2 | 12.0 | 12.1 | 7.3 | 11.0 | 3.2 | 2.9 | 9.8 |
| | 1982 | 8.0 | 12.4 | 11.2 | 10.4 | 9.2 | 10.3 | 12.1 | 12.2 | 7.3 | 11.2 | 3.3 | 2.8 | 9.9 |

1 Per 1,000.
2 Census year: from June 1, 1981 to May 31, 1982.
3 The total fertility rate represents the number of children born to 1,000 women during their childbearing years.
4 Life expectancy at birth is accurate to one decimal place (tenths of years).
5 Preliminary data.

Nova Scotia and Ontario have the lowest rates of natural increase, mainly because of below-average birth rates. Here, it is not so much a question of the age structure of the population being unfavourable as of fertility rates being particularly low. Mortality rates, however, are higher, as the proportion of persons over 65 is above average.

In Quebec, it is the high proportion of females aged 15 to 40, not the fertility rate – which is the lowest of all the provinces – that prevents the birth rate from dropping even further.

In the Yukon and the Northwest Territories, the fertility rates are much higher than in the provinces and the proportion of women in their childbearing years is larger. Furthermore, despite fairly high mortality, the lower percentage of elderly people helps keep the death rate very low.

## Net Migration

Provincial net migration is the overall balance of two types of migration: flows to and from other countries and to and from other provinces or territories. The balance itself says nothing about the actual magnitude of the flows. Indeed, when these flows are expressed as rates, analysis consists of little more than the plus or minus sign appearing in front of the figures: a net migration gain furthers growth, a net migration loss curbs it.

Based on the migration balance of the 30 years under review, the provinces can be grouped into three categories (Table 10).

- Provinces that, barring rare exceptions, have had negative migration flows. This is the largest category, comprising the Atlantic provinces and the Prairie provinces that have thus far been agricultural regions (Manitoba and Saskatchewan).

- Provinces that have always had positive net migration. This category includes Ontario and the two most western provinces, Alberta and British Columbia.

- Quebec, which had a positive balance during half this period and a negative balance during the other half.

Recalling that strictly accurate comparisons between actual annual rates and average annual rates for a five-year period are not possible, data from the past two years 1981-82 and 1982-83 seem to indicate that the trends for Ontario, Alberta and British Columbia remain unchanged. In contrast, net migration is apparently becoming positive in Manitoba and Saskatchewan. The situation in the Atlantic provinces is unclear. Quebec recorded negative balances.

**TABLE 10. Average Annual Net Migration Rate (per thousand), Canada, the Provinces and Territories, 1951 - 1983**

| Province | 1951 - 56 | 1956 - 61 | 1961 - 66 | 1966 - 71 | 1971 - 76 | 1976 - 81 | 1981 - 82 | 1982 - 83 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Newfoundland | 0.9 | − 7.5 | − 10.2 | − 8.0 | − 3.1 | − 9.6 | − 9.7 | 3.6 |
| Prince Edward Island | − 16.4 | − 6.5 | − 8.7 | − 3.9 | 3.6 | − 0.6 | − 6.1 | 2.4 |
| Nova Scotia | − 3.3 | − 6.4 | − 10.9 | − 1.2 | 1.8 | − 2.1 | − 0.9 | 2.6 |
| New Brunswick | − 7.8 | − 5.7 | − 11.3 | − 5.6 | 3.0 | − 2.9 | − 4.0 | 3.5 |
| Quebec | 4.4 | 4.4 | 2.3 | − 1.4 | − 0.7 | − 2.0 | − 1.1 | − 1.5 |
| Ontario | 15.1 | 10.6 | 7.2 | 10.0 | 5.9 | 1.3 | 3.6 | 4.6 |
| Manitoba | – | − 1.0 | − 6.1 | − 4.9 | − 2.3 | − 7.0 | 1.2 | 3.5 |
| Saskatchewan | − 8.7 | − 9.2 | − 9.7 | − 17.0 | − 9.4 | − 0.2 | 1.6 | 4.0 |
| Alberta | 12.1 | 10.5 | − 0.5 | 7.7 | 13.2 | 27.1 | 22.1 | 1.9 |
| British Columbia | 21.1 | 13.9 | 16.0 | 21.9 | 17.2 | 14.0 | 8.8 | 4.7 |
| Yukon | 27.0 | 5.0 | − 31.5 | 28.9 | 17.6 | − 4.1 | 7.0 | − 82.9 |
| Northwest Territories | 15.5 | 3.3 | 8.0 | 6.2 | 16.0 | − 9.5 | 9.6 | 5.4 |
| **Canada** | **7.9** | **5.6** | **2.7** | **4.4** | **4.4** | **3.1** | **3.8** | **2.4** |

**Source:** Statistics Canada, based on data from *International and Interprovincial Migration in Canada*, Catalogue No. 91-208, Annual.

# THE POPULATION STRUCTURE

Since 1951, the census has provided comprehensive data every five years about the distribution of Canada's population by age, sex and marital status. Between censuses, estimates are calculated for each year. The distribution reflects the country's demographic structure, which is the outcome of past changes that have affected the numbers of births, deaths and migrations. Traditionally, this structure has been represented by the age pyramid, the general configuration and uneven profile of which attest to the events that have marked the past (Chart I).

## 1983: Fewer Young People but More Young Children

As a result of the decline in fertility, young people (0-17 age group) not only made up a smaller percentage of the population in 1983 than in 1961 (26.8% as opposed to 38.9%), but their numbers also dropped, from 7,095,536 to 6,663,000 (Table 11). However, the number of preschool children (age 0-5) has been increasing since 1976, as the many young women of the last large birth cohorts of the post-war era (1961-62 to 1966-67), began having children.

In 1976, the Census counted 2,108,245 children aged 0-5 and 5,276,747 females aged 15-49, a ratio of 40 children per 100 women. The corresponding estimates for 1983 were 2,167,430 and 6,669,014, a ratio of only 33 children per 100 women. The decrease in this ratio clearly reveals the steady slowdown in fertility that has been masked by a slight rise in the number of children. The small change in the age structure among women of childbearing age can be regarded as negligible. For a while, however, the larger numbers of young children will check the decline in the school-age population (age 6-17) that has been evident since 1971.

**TABLE 11. Population Distribution by Broad Age Groups, Canada, 1961, 1971, 1981 and 1983**

| Age Groups | | 1961 | 1971 | 1981 | 1983 | Change 1961 to 1983 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 0 - 17 | Number | 7,095,536 | 7,695,813 | 6,845,138 | 6,663,000 | − 6.1 |
| | % | (38.9) | (36.7) | (28.1) | (26.8) | |
| 18 - 64 | Number | 9,751,557 | 12,128,093 | 15,137,067 | 15,730,400 | + 61.3 |
| | % | (53.5) | (56.2) | (62.2) | (63.2) | |
| 65 - 74 | Number | 889,277 | 1,077,338 | 1,477,745 | 1,539,400 | + 73.1 |
| | % | (4.9) | (5.0) | (6.1) | (6.2) | |
| 75 + | Number | 501,877 | 667,067 | 883,231 | 957,100 | + 90.7 |
| | % | (2.8) | (3.1) | (3.6) | (3.8) | |
| **Total** | **Number** | **18,238,227** | **21,568,311** | **24,343,181** | **24,889,800** | **+ 36.5** |
| | **%** | **(100)** | **(100)** | **(100)** | **(100)** | |

**Source:** Statistics Canada, Censuses of Canada and *Postcensal Annual Estimates of Population by Marital Status, Age, Sex and Components of Growth for Canada and the Provinces,* Catalogue No. 91-210.

Chart I
## Age Pyramid of the Canadian Population, June 1, 1983

Year of birth (June 1 — May 31)

| | |
|---|---|
| 1892-93 | |
| 1897-98 | |
| 1902-03 | |
| 1907-08 | |
| 1912-13 | |
| 1917-18 | |
| 1922-23 | |
| 1927-28 | |
| 1932-33 | |
| 1937-38 | |
| 1942-43 | |
| 1947-48 | |
| 1952-53 | |
| 1957-58 | |
| 1962-63 | |
| 1967-68 | |
| 1972-73 | |
| 1977-78 | |
| 1982-83 | |

Women

Men

Age: 90+, 85, 80, 75, 70, 65, 60, 55, 50, 45, 40, 35, 30, 25, 20, 15, 10, 5, 0

For a total population of 100,000

1,000  900  800  700  600  500  400  300  200  100  0

Year of birth (June 1 — May 31)

Legend
- Widowed
- Divorced
- Married
- Single

❶ Effect of male excess mortality
❷ Decline in births during World War I
❸ Decline in births during the Depression and disruption of immigration until the end of World War II
❹ Upturn in births after World War II
❺ Baby boom
❻ Recent drop in fertility

Source: Demography Division.

## More Adults

In 1983, the estimated population aged 18-64, which basically constitutes the potential labour force, peaked at a record 15,730,400. Whereas the total population has increased 78% since 1951, the adult population has virtually doubled (up 96%). Adults currently account for close to two-thirds of the total population, as opposed to barely more than half in 1961.

## More Elderly People as Well

The over-65 age group is growing both in number and in proportion of the population at an accelerating pace. During each five-year period since 1961, the average annual growth has increased (2.0%, 2.5%, 2.8%, 3.3%), which means that the number of senior citizens has almost doubled in the space of 20 years. Within this group, those over 75, who are more numerous than ever before, deserve special attention.

The increase is the product of the very complex interplay between natality and past migration, coupled with changes in mortality. In 1951, persons over 75 accounted for 31% of the over 65 group; by 1983 the proportion had risen to 38%, and population projections suggest this upward trend will continue.

## Aging of the Population

The growth in number of elderly people does not in itself constitute aging of the population. It is rather their increasing proportion of the total population. This percentage may rise solely as a result of a decline in the proportion of young people, which was more or less the case in Canada until recently. Aging "from the bottom up" was the expression used to describe the narrowing of the bottom portion of the age pyramid. At present, the growth in the number of elderly people is no longer negligible and is contributing to the higher proportion of people over 65. The top of the pyramid is swelling, a phenomenon referred to as aging "from the top down".

With the conjunction of these two phenomena, the elderly segment of the Canadian population will grow proportionately larger over the coming decades. In 1983, one person in 10 was over 65. The aging of the population becomes all the more visible as the number of young people decreases. While in 1951, there were 20 people over 65, for every 100 young people, the ratio in 1983 was 37 to 100. However, Canada's population is not as old as those of most developed countries (Table 12) and forecasts based on assumptions of very low fertility indicate that the proportion of elderly people will not reach the levels currently observed in most Western European countries until the end of the century.

**TABLE 12. Percentage Distribution of Population by Broad Age Groups for Selected Industrialized Countries, Circa 1980**

| Country | 0 - 14 | 15 - 64 | 65 and over |
|---|---|---|---|
| France (1-1-80) | 22.4 | 63.5 | 14.1 |
| F.R.G. (30-6-79) | 18.9 | 65.6 | 15.5 |
| United Kingdom (England and Wales) (30-6-81) | 20.3 | 64.4 | 15.3 |
| Belgium | 20.9 | 64.9 | 14.2 |
| Norway (1-7-79) | 22.6 | 62.8 | 14.6 |
| Sweden (1-7-79) | 19.9 | 64.0 | 16.1 |
| Switzerland (1-7-79) | 16.6 | 69.6 | 13.8 |
| U.S.A. (1-7-79) | 22.8 | 66.1 | 11.1 |
| Hungary (1-7-79) | 21.6 | 65.1 | 13.3 |
| Canada (1981)[1] | 22.5 | 67.8 | 9.7 |

[1] 1981 Census of Canada.

**Source:** Based on data from the *United Nations Demographic Yearbook*, 1980.

## The Dependency Ratio

The foregoing observations indicate that the numerical relationships among the major age groups are changing. If we regard the young and the elderly as dependents of the adult age group, we can compute a very conventional and somewhat indicative measure, the dependency ratio (Table 13). Although the dependency ratio of the elderly is rising (ratio of the over-65 group to the 18-64 group), it does not offset the decline in that of young people (ratio of 0-17 to 18-64). The result is a substantial drop in the overall dependency ratio (the sum of the two ratios), which is at an all-time low.

## Provincial Differences in Age Structure

Owing both to their differing rates of fertility and mortality, and in particular to the cumulative effects of migration, not all provinces have the same demographic profile. Moreover, there have been a number of notable changes over the past three decades (Table 46).

- The proportion of young people (0-17) has declined in all the provinces; they now account for almost the same percentage of the population in each province. In 1951, the numerical difference between the proportions in the two most dissimilar provinces, Newfoundland and British Columbia, was

**TABLE 13. Dependency Ratio, Canada, 1951 - 1983**

| Year | Dependency of young people ( 0 - 17) (18 - 64) | Dependency of elderly people (65 +) (18 - 64) | Total dependency (0 - 17 + 65 +) (18 - 64) | (65 +) (0-17) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1951 | 60.8 | 13.5 | 74.3 | 27.2 |
| 1956 | 66.9 | 14.0 | 80.7 | 20.9 |
| 1961 | 71.7 | 14.8 | 86.6 | 20.7 |
| 1966 | 72.0 | 14.3 | 86.4 | 19.9 |
| 1971 | 63.5 | 14.4 | 77.8 | 22.7 |
| 1976 | 53.6 | 14.7 | 68.3 | 27.3 |
| 1981 | 45.2 | 15.6 | 60.8 | 34.5 |
| 1982[1] | 43.7 | 15.7 | 59.4 | 36.0 |
| 1983[1] | 42.4 | 15.9 | 58.2 | 37.5 |

[1] Preliminary data.

**Source:** Statistics Canada, Censuses of Canada and *Postcensal Annual Estimates of Population by Marital Status, Age, Sex and Components of Growth for Canada and the Provinces,* Catalogue No. 91-210.

14.6%; by 1983, it was only 9.7%. Between 1951 and 1983, provincial rankings (excluding the territories) based on the proportion of young people shifted somewhat. The most important change was in Quebec, which fell from 3rd to 9th place. Eastern Canada (Quebec and to a lesser extent New Brunswick) recorded the largest drop in the proportion of young people, due to the combined effects of declining fertility and negative net migration. West of Quebec, the downswing was smaller and the causes more complex. For that region as a whole, the decline was not as great simply because the proportion of young people was smaller in 1951. The decreases in the far west (Alberta and British Columbia) deviate less from the national average because adult immigration during the 30 year period helped reduce the proportion of young people observed in 1981.

- Between 1951 and 1981, there was a general, albeit uneven, increase in the proportion of elderly people and provincial rankings based on this criterion changed slightly. In 1951, only British Columbia's population was more than 10% elderly people and the province thus ranked first. Quebec, with 5.7%, had the lowest proportion. The difference between these two extremes was 5.1% and the proportion of one was double that of the other. By 1981, seven of the 10 provinces had exceeded 10%. Prince Edward Island and Alberta were in first and last places respectively and the gap between the two extremes had narrowed. Aging from the top down was less prominent in the far western provinces because of substantial gains from international and internal migration. The ratio of the elderly (65 +) to the young (0-17) is indicative of the profound change that has taken place, largely since 1961 (Table 14). This ratio has increased as the proportions of the two groups have tended to converge.

- There has been a general rise in the proportion of adults and current differences among the provinces are closely linked to recent net migration. The adult proportion is higher than the national average in Ontario, Alberta and British Columbia and lower in the other provinces. The demographic profile of Quebec has been further influenced by a sharp drop in fertility. The populations of the Yukon and the Northwest Territories have also been affected by aging from the bottom up. This is particularly true for the Yukon, where the native population whose fertility is still high is smaller. Nevertheless, overall aging is less pronounced in the territories than in the provinces.

TABLE 14. Number of Persons Over 65 Years of Age per 100 Young Persons (0 - 17), Canada, the Provinces and Territories, 1961, 1981 and 1983

| Province | 1961 | 1981 | 1983 | Change (%) 1961 - 1983 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Canada | 22 | 35 | 37 | 68 |
| Newfoundland | 15 | 21 | 23 | 53 |
| Prince Edward Island | 26 | 39 | 42 | 62 |
| Nova Scotia | 23 | 37 | 41 | 78 |
| New Brunswick | 19 | 33 | 35 | 84 |
| Quebec | 15 | 32 | 36 | 140 |
| Ontario | 28 | 36 | 40 | 43 |
| Manitoba | 25 | 41 | 44 | 76 |
| Saskatchewan | 23 | 40 | 42 | 83 |
| Alberta | 20 | 25 | 26 | 30 |
| British Columbia | 36 | 41 | 44 | 22 |
| Yukon | 16 | 10 | 11 | - 31 |
| Northwest Territories | 7 | 7 | 7 | – |
| Difference between extremes[1] | 21 | 20 | 21 | . . . |

[1] Excluding the Yukon and Northwest Territories.

Source: Statistics Canada. Censuses of Canada (1961 and 1981) and *Estimates of Population for Canada and the Provinces,* Catalogue No. 91-201, Annual.

## Marital Status Structure

The marital status distribution of the population aged 15 and over is the result of so many factors that differences in the proportion of a particular status between any two dates cannot be explained. In particular, changes in an individual's status, except for "single", are reversible.

However, a simple description of the situation yields a number of interesting facts (Table 15).

- There are substantially more widows than widowers. Excess mortality among males is the primary reason for the over-representation of females. Less commonly cited, though certainly not insignificant, is the more frequent

## TABLE 15. Percentage Distribution of the Population by Age and Marital Status, Canada, 1951, 1961, 1971, 1981 and 1983

**Male**

| Age | Single | | | | | Married | | | | | Widowed | | | | | Divorced | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1951 | 1961 | 1971 | 1981 | 1983 | 1951 | 1961 | 1971 | 1981 | 1983 | 1951 | 1961 | 1971 | 1981 | 1983 | 1951 | 1961 | 1971 | 1981 | 1983 |
| 15 - 19 | 99.0 | 98.7 | 98.4 | 98.4 | 99.2 | 1.0 | 1.3 | 1.5 | 1.5 | 0.8 | - | - | 0.1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 20 - 24 | 74.4 | 69.5 | 67.6 | 71.9 | 76.8 | 25.5 | 30.4 | 32.0 | 27.8 | 22.8 | - | - | 0.1 | - | - | - | - | 0.2 | 0.3 | 0.4 |
| 25 - 29 | 35.1 | 29.6 | 25.5 | 32.0 | 35.2 | 64.7 | 70.1 | 73.3 | 66.3 | 62.3 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.2 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.2 | 0.9 | 1.5 | 2.5 |
| 30 - 34 | 19.6 | 17.3 | 13.3 | 15.0 | 16.5 | 79.9 | 82.1 | 85.1 | 82.1 | 79.1 | 0.3 | 0.2 | 0.3 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.3 | 0.3 | 1.3 | 2.8 | 4.2 |
| 35 - 39 | 14.9 | 13.0 | 10.3 | 9.3 | 9.9 | 84.2 | 86.2 | 87.9 | 86.9 | 85.2 | 0.6 | 0.4 | 0.4 | 0.2 | 0.2 | 0.3 | 0.4 | 1.5 | 3.5 | 4.7 |
| 40 - 44 | 13.3 | 10.9 | 9.4 | 7.8 | 7.7 | 85.2 | 87.7 | 88.3 | 87.9 | 86.9 | 1.0 | 0.9 | 0.7 | 0.4 | 0.4 | 0.5 | 0.5 | 1.6 | 3.9 | 5.0 |
| 45 - 49 | 13.1 | 10.5 | 9.1 | 7.5 | 7.1 | 84.6 | 87.6 | 88.2 | 87.8 | 87.1 | 1.8 | 1.3 | 1.1 | 0.8 | 0.8 | 0.5 | 0.6 | 1.6 | 3.9 | 4.9 |
| 50 - 54 | 12.6 | 10.5 | 8.7 | 7.8 | 7.4 | 83.7 | 86.5 | 88.0 | 86.8 | 86.5 | 3.2 | 2.3 | 1.8 | 1.6 | 1.5 | 0.5 | 0.7 | 1.5 | 3.8 | 4.7 |
| 55 - 59 | 11.7 | 11.2 | 9.2 | 7.8 | 7.6 | 82.8 | 84.0 | 86.4 | 86.2 | 85.7 | 5.1 | 4.2 | 2.9 | 2.6 | 2.6 | 0.4 | 0.6 | 1.5 | 3.3 | 4.0 |
| 60 - 64 | 15.5 | 11.5 | 9.7 | 7.6 | 7.3 | 80.1 | 81.0 | 84.3 | 85.5 | 85.3 | 8.0 | 6.9 | 4.7 | 4.2 | 4.2 | 0.4 | 0.6 | 1.4 | 2.8 | 3.3 |
| 65 + | 11.8 | 10.8 | 10.6 | 8.5 | 8.0 | 65.7 | 68.5 | 71.8 | 75.6 | 76.0 | 22.3 | 20.4 | 16.7 | 14.1 | 13.9 | 0.1 | 0.2 | 0.9 | 1.8 | 2.1 |

**Female**

| Age | Single | | | | | Married | | | | | Widowed | | | | | Divorced | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1951 | 1961 | 1971 | 1981 | 1983 | 1951 | 1961 | 1971 | 1981 | 1983 | 1951 | 1961 | 1971 | 1981 | 1983 | 1951 | 1961 | 1971 | 1981 | 1983 |
| 15 - 19 | 92.1 | 91.3 | 92.5 | 93.3 | 95.7 | 7.9 | 8.7 | 7.3 | 6.6 | 4.2 | - | - | 0.2 | 0.1 | 0.1 | - | - | 0.1 | - | - |
| 20 - 24 | 48.5 | 40.5 | 43.5 | 51.1 | 56.3 | 51.2 | 59.2 | 55.7 | 48.0 | 42.6 | 0.1 | 0.2 | 0.3 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.2 | 0.6 | 0.8 | 1.0 |
| 25 - 29 | 20.7 | 15.4 | 15.4 | 20.0 | 22.0 | 78.5 | 83.7 | 82.5 | 76.8 | 73.8 | 0.5 | 0.4 | 0.5 | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.5 | 0.4 | 1.5 | 2.9 | 3.9 |
| 30 - 34 | 13.0 | 10.5 | 9.1 | 10.5 | 11.4 | 84.4 | 88.1 | 88.1 | 84.3 | 82.2 | 1.2 | 0.8 | 0.9 | 0.6 | 0.6 | 0.6 | 0.6 | 2.0 | 4.7 | 5.8 |
| 35 - 39 | 12.4 | 9.2 | 7.3 | 7.3 | 7.6 | 84.8 | 88.5 | 89.0 | 85.9 | 84.5 | 2.1 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 1.1 | 1.1 | 0.7 | 0.7 | 2.1 | 5.7 | 6.8 |
| 40 - 44 | 12.3 | 8.9 | 6.9 | 6.1 | 6.2 | 83.2 | 87.0 | 88.3 | 85.9 | 84.6 | 3.7 | 3.2 | 2.7 | 2.2 | 2.1 | 0.8 | 0.8 | 2.1 | 5.8 | 7.1 |
| 45 - 49 | 11.7 | 9.5 | 7.0 | 5.8 | 5.6 | 81.2 | 83.7 | 86.0 | 84.7 | 83.8 | 6.5 | 5.9 | 5.0 | 4.1 | 4.0 | 0.7 | 0.9 | 2.0 | 5.4 | 6.6 |
| 50 - 54 | 10.9 | 10.4 | 7.7 | 6.1 | 5.8 | 77.6 | 79.2 | 81.6 | 81.6 | 81.2 | 11.0 | 9.5 | 8.8 | 7.6 | 7.2 | 0.6 | 0.9 | 1.9 | 4.7 | 5.8 |
| 55 - 59 | 10.2 | 10.5 | 9.0 | 6.3 | 6.0 | 72.7 | 73.0 | 74.8 | 76.8 | 76.6 | 16.7 | 15.8 | 14.5 | 13.0 | 12.7 | 0.4 | 0.7 | 1.7 | 3.9 | 4.7 |
| 60 - 64 | 9.8 | 10.2 | 10.2 | 7.1 | 6.6 | 65.5 | 64.8 | 65.8 | 68.7 | 69.5 | 24.4 | 24.4 | 22.6 | 21.1 | 20.3 | 0.3 | 0.6 | 1.5 | 3.1 | 3.7 |
| 65 + | 10.4 | 10.1 | 10.7 | 9.5 | 9.2 | 41.6 | 41.1 | 39.2 | 39.9 | 40.2 | 47.9 | 48.3 | 49.4 | 49.1 | 48.8 | 0.1 | 0.2 | 0.7 | 1.5 | 1.8 |

remarriage of widowed males than of widowed females, a factor that reduces the proportion of the former and swells the ranks of the married population. A third factor is that, on average, husbands are older than their wives.

– While the majority of adults are married, there is a disparity in the number of young men and young women of the same age who are married. The reason for this is that it is still customary for women to marry earlier than men.

– On the basis of comparisons with previous censuses, the proportion of people not yet married is increasing among the 20-30 age group, for males and females alike. However, as the last census classed common-law couples in the married category, this type of union cannot be pinpointed as the cause of the growing proportion of singles in this age group. Rather, it may be that a large proportion of single persons are putting off marriage until they are older.

– Although divorce is often only a temporary status, each census shows the proportion of divorced persons is increasing for both sexes. This implies that more people are acquiring this status than are losing it through migration, death and marriage.

The size of the divorced population at census time is a poor indicator of the divorce rate.[3] Remarriage among the divorced, which is more frequent among males, and complicated by age differences at the time of marriage, combines with widowhood to create a very complex situation. In 1981, there were many more divorced females than males in the 20-40 age group (134,520 to 78,505). From the 1983 estimates, it would appear that the size of the divorced population is growing but that the ratio between the sexes is decreasing in favour of women (119,268 males and 178,142 females). It should be noted that nearly 50% of elderly persons (over 70) are "unmarried" – either single, widowed or divorced. Of the 800,000 individuals in this categorie, 77% are women (Table 16).

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[3] The size of the divorced population is most likely underestimated. Apart from the reluctance of some divorced persons to report their status (the effects of this reticence are unknown), divorced individuals living in common-law unions are regarded as married for the purposes of the census. The immediate result of this is a smaller divorced population.

**TABLE 16. Unmarried Persons, Age 70 and Over, Canada, 1983**

| Age | Male | | | Female | | | Both sexes | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | All marital statuses | Single, widowed, divorced | | All marital statuses | Single, widowed, divorced | | All marital statuses | Single, widowed, divorced | |
| | Number | Number | Percentage | Number | Number | Percentage | Number | Number | Percentage |
| 70 - 74 | 301,500 | 62,400 | 20.7 | 378,800 | 205,900 | 54.3 | 680,300 | 268,300 | 39.4 |
| 75 - 79 | 192,900 | 52,100 | 27.0 | 274,800 | 186,200 | 67.8 | 467,700 | 238,300 | 51.0 |
| 80 - 84 | 105,200 | 38,600 | 36.7 | 174,100 | 140,100 | 80.5 | 279,300 | 178,700 | 64.0 |
| 85 - 89 | 45,200 | 22,400 | 49.6 | 94,900 | 85,600 | 90.2 | 140,100 | 108,000 | 77.1 |
| 90 + | 20,600 | 13,100 | 63.6 | 49,400 | 47,200 | 95.5 | 70,000 | 60,300 | 86.1 |
| **Total** | **665,400** | **188,600** | **28.3** | **972,000** | **665,000** | **68.4** | **1,637,400** | **853,600** | **52.1** |

**Source:** Statistics Canada, *Postcensal Annual Estimates of Population by Marital Status, Age, Sex and Components of Growth for Canada and the Provinces, 1982 and 1983,* Catalogue No. 91-210, Annual.

# INTERNAL MIGRATION

Internal migration is of particular significance in Canada because of the political make-up of the country. Federal and provincial authorities pursue many social and economic policies that affect the regional production and consumption of goods and services, as well as the redistribution of national wealth. However, population movements, both directly and particularly indirectly, keep the country in a constant state of demographic and economic flux. It is difficult to imagine what Canada would have been like in 1983 if, for instance, there had been no internal migration since the early 1900s. However, a very rough picture can be obtained by distributing the 1983 population according to the distribution in 1901 (Table 17).

Newfoundland would be nearing the one million mark, and Prince Edward Island would be approaching 500,000. Nova Scotia's population would be as large as Alberta's and the latter would be the least populous of the provinces. The entire population of British Columbia would not match that of present-day Vancouver.

## The Data

Because there are no population registers and no one is required to file a change-of-residence notice, the measurement of internal migration flows is no easy task. However, annual estimates of interprovincial flows are computed using two reasonably complete administrative files in which changes of address are recorded – family allowance records and Revenue Canada's income tax records. Despite a number of weaknesses, these estimates provide

TABLE 17. 1981 Population of Canada Distributed According to the Population Distribution in 1901

| Province | 1981 population distributed by 1901 structure | Actual population in 1981 |
|---|---|---|
| Newfoundland | 961,939 | 567,680 |
| Prince Edward Island | 449,485 | 122,510 |
| Nova Scotia | 2,000,518 | 847,445 |
| New Brunswick | 1,441,360 | 696,405 |
| Quebec | 7,177,624 | 6,438,400 |
| Ontario | 9,502,330 | 8,625,110 |
| Manitoba | 1,110,929 | 1,026,245 |
| Saskatchewan | 397,336 | 968,310 |
| Alberta | 317,863 | 2,237,725 |
| British Columbia | 777,691 | 2,744,470 |
| Yukon | 118,484 | 23,150 |
| Northwest Territories | 87,621 | 45,740 |
| **Total** | **24,343,180** | **24,343,180** |

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quite a satisfactory approximation from which migration trends can be extracted. This information is supplemented every five years with data from the official census, which includes a question about the respondent's place of residence at the time of the previous census.

## Twelve-year Profile

### Balances

Demographic accounting of population movements from one province to another provides the in-migration and out-migration figures used to calculate each province's internal migration balance (the difference between the number of people entering and leaving the province) (Table 18).

Analysis of the past 12 years' observations reveals two points of particular interest:

- In Canada as a whole, the annual interprovincial migration flow is heavy and varies little from year to year. The annual average, of 380,000 migrants, though pushed upwards by exceptionally large flows in 1973-74 and 1974-75, suggests that there were, on average, 15 provincial border crossings per 1,000 population.

- Excluding the last year 1982-83 and two exceptions (Saskatchewan in 1976-77 and Ontario in 1977-78), all provinces except Alberta and British Columbia have registered negative balances of migration since 1976-77.

Three groups of provinces can readily be singled out from this composite picture.

### The Losing Provinces

Through these interprovincial exchanges, some provinces lost more people than they gained. One example is Quebec, which has failed to record a single positive balance in the past 12 years; its direct total deficit stands at 280,000. In no year has any province experienced a net migration gain higher than Quebec's net migration loss in 1977-78. Manitoba, except for 1982-83, was invariably a loser in its exchanges. Its total loss over the 12-year period was 70,000 persons. Newfoundland, having had positive balances of several hundred people four times during the period, ended with a total deficit of 25,000 persons because of outflows during the other eight years. Saskatchewan also posted a negative balance in eight years, losing slightly less than 50,000 persons in all. Ontario found itself in the same position, chalking up negative balances for eight years and ending the period with a total deficit of 90,000 persons.

**TABLE 18. Balance of Internal Migration for Provinces and Territories, 1971-72 to 1982-83**

| Year | Nfld. | P.E.I. | N.S. | N.B. | Que. | Ont. | Man. | Sask. | Alta. | B.C. | Yukon and N.W.T. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1971 - 72 | 910 | 290 | -371 | 612 | -20,461 | 14,080 | -8,311 | -19,207 | 3,575 | 27,044 | 1,840 |
| 1972 - 73 | -537 | 923 | 4,276 | 2,077 | -20,072 | 960 | -5,770 | -16,164 | 5,564 | 27,333 | 1,410 |
| 1973 - 74 | -3,316 | 502 | 1,274 | 1,448 | -15,135 | -2,886 | -1,596 | -11,604 | 2,235 | 30,496 | -1,418 |
| 1974 - 75 | 495 | 1,390 | 2,233 | 6,103 | -9,299 | -29,535 | -6,912 | 378 | 22,576 | 11,831 | 739 |
| 1975 - 76 | 591 | 649 | 3,895 | 6,561 | -12,643 | -21,179 | -4,238 | 5,845 | 24,621 | -4,419 | 317 |
| 1976 - 77 | -4,149 | 154 | -799 | -82 | -26,366 | -6,402 | -3,531 | 3,182 | 34,710 | 5,016 | -1,733 |
| 1977 - 78 | -4,311 | 700 | -416 | -1,348 | -46,429 | 8,510 | -4,674 | -1,719 | 32,543 | 17,576 | -432 |
| 1978 - 79 | -3,374 | -74 | -357 | -1,171 | -30,884 | -4,325 | -10,746 | -2,878 | 33,426 | 22,005 | -1,622 |
| 1979 - 80 | -3,597 | -358 | -2,732 | -2,761 | -29,976 | -22,362 | -13,864 | -4,493 | 41,435 | 40,164 | -1,456 |
| 1980 - 81 | -3,552 | -1,251 | -2,836 | -4,989 | -22,841 | -33,247 | -9,403 | -3,808 | 44,250 | 37,864 | -187 |
| 1981 - 82 | -5,693 | -856 | -1,936 | -2,842 | -25,790 | -5,665 | -2,625 | -323 | 36,562 | 8,705 | 463 |
| 1982 - 83 | 1,665 | 209 | 1,428 | 2,491 | -22,568 | 15,112 | 389 | 2,660 | -3,344 | 3,632 | -1,664 |
| **Total** | **-24,814** | **2,278** | **3,668** | **6,099** | **-280,464** | **-86,939** | **-71,281** | **-47,951** | **278,153** | **227,247** | **-3,743** |

Source: Statistics Canada, based on data from *International and Interprovincial Migration in Canada*, Catalogue No. 91-208, Annual and Catalogue No. 91-210, Annual.

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## The Winning Provinces

Alberta and British Columbia were the big winners in the internal migration game. Each lost several thousand people in one year, but gained close to 250,000 over the other 11 years.

## Win Some, Lose Some

The Yukon, the Northwest Territories and the Maritime provinces oscillated between winning and losing. Their annual balances were never very high or low and, at the end of the 12-year period, the Maritimes came out slightly ahead.

## 1982-83

The previous year (1982-83) was particularly unusual for almost all provinces because population movements during the year were so different from those of the preceding six years. British Columbia gained little; Alberta lost for the first time in 12 years; the Yukon and the Northwest Territories suffered slight losses; all the other provinces had positive net balances. Quebec alone recorded a high deficit.

## Flows

While net migration measures the results of the flows, it says nothing about the origin and destination of the migrants or about the size of the flows.

Analysis of the average flows over the past 12 years highlights the special role played by Ontario, which was involved in one of every four border crossings (Table 19). Alberta, in second place, was a party to nearly one movement

**TABLE 19. Percentage Distribution of Interprovincial Migration by Province of Origin and Destination, Average for 1971-72 through 1982-83**

| Province | Origin | Destination |
|---|---|---|
| Newfoundland | 3.3 | 2.7 |
| Prince Edward Island | 1.0 | 1.0 |
| Nova Scotia | 5.6 | 5.7 |
| New Brunswick | 4.5 | 4.6 |
| Quebec | 13.9 | 7.6 |
| Ontario | 25.8 | 23.4 |
| Manitoba | 7.8 | 6.3 |
| Saskatchewan | 6.9 | 6.2 |
| Alberta | 15.8 | 22.5 |
| British Columbia | 13.6 | 18.3 |
| Yukon and Northwest Territories | 1.8 | 1.7 |
| **Total** | **100** | **100** |

out of five, followed by British Columbia with one in six. Only one in ten movements involved Quebec, which recorded twice as many departures as arrivals.

Analysis of the provincial breakdown of in-migration and out-migration reveals some major trends.

## Ontario

Ontario attracted more people from the East than from the West, the average proportions being 60% and 40% respectively (Table 20). Migrants from the

**TABLE 20. Distribution of 100 In-migrants and 100 Out-migrants for Ontario, 1970-71 to 1982-83**

| Province of origin | In-migrants | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 1970-71 | Average for 1970-71 to 1981-82 | 1982-83 |
| Newfoundland | 6.3 | 6.0 | 4.2 |
| Prince Edward Island | 1.2 | 1.2 | 1.0 |
| Nova Scotia | 10.3 | 8.9 | 7.2 |
| New Brunswick | 7.5 | 6.4 | 4.9 |
| Quebec | 39.8 | 37.4 | 30.4 |
| Ontario | . . . | . . . | . . . |
| Manitoba | 8.9 | 8.4 | 7.0 |
| Saskatchewan | 4.9 | 3.6 | 3.3 |
| Alberta | 8.8 | 13.5 | 26.2 |
| British Columbia | 11.9 | 13.8 | 14.8 |
| Yukon & Northwest Territories | 0.4 | 0.8 | 1.0 |
| **Total** | **100** | **100** | **100** |

| Province of destination | Out-migrants | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 1970-71 | Average for 1970-71 to 1981-82 | 1982-83 |
| Newfoundland | 7.1 | 5.5 | 5.8 |
| Prince Edward Island | 1.8 | 1.4 | 1.1 |
| Nova Scotia | 11.5 | 9.0 | 8.1 |
| New Brunswick | 8.5 | 6.6 | 5.9 |
| Quebec | 26.2 | 20.0 | 17.5 |
| Ontario | . . . | . . . | . . . |
| Manitoba | 8.8 | 8.3 | 8.8 |
| Saskatchewan | 3.1 | 3.8 | 4.2 |
| Alberta | 12.4 | 24.9 | 29.4 |
| British Columbia | 19.5 | 20.3 | 18.0 |
| Yukon & Northwest Territories | 1.1 | 1.1 | 1.2 |
| **Total** | **100** | **100** | **100** |

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East were mostly from Quebec and probably included a sizeable proportion of Anglophones.[4] Migrants from the West came from Alberta and British Columbia.

Between the early 1970s and the early 1980s, the proportion of migrants from the East tapered off, while there was an increase in migration from the West, mainly Alberta (especially in 1982-83). This strongly suggests a return flow triggered by the cancellation of many oil exploration and development projects.

The out-migration pattern was altogether different. More Ontario residents headed West than East, but these movements involved the same partners, Quebec on the one hand and Alberta and British Columbia on the other. The same reversal as was seen in the inflows held throughout the period, with out-migration to Quebec falling proportionally and out-migration to Alberta rising.

Alberta

Alberta's exchanges with provinces east of Ontario were limited (Table 21). In the early 1970s, 10% of them were with Quebec and the Atlantic provinces, though some 10 years later, the proportion had almost doubled (19%). But relations were especially close with British Columbia. Despite a slight change

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[4] P. Parent and R. Raby, *Profil des migrants interprovinciaux au Québec, 1976-1981*, ACFAS, May 26, 1983.

**TABLE 21. Percentage Distribution of Alberta's Migration with Other Provinces and Territories**

| Province | Average for 1970 - 71 and 1971 - 72 | | Average for 1981 - 82 and 1982 - 83 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | In-migration | Out-migration | In-migration | Out-migration |
| Newfoundland | 0.5 | 0.8 | 3.4 | 2.6 |
| Prince Edward Island | 0.4 | 0.4 | 1.0 | 0.8 |
| Nova Scotia | 2.2 | 2.1 | 4.3 | 4.8 |
| New Brunswick | 1.7 | 1.3 | 3.3 | 3.3 |
| Quebec | 5.1 | 3.3 | 4.5 | 5.5 |
| Ontario | 17.0 | 20.4 | 31.8 | 28.0 |
| Manitoba | 11.9 | 7.8 | 7.5 | 8.3 |
| Saskatchewan | 26.6 | 13.2 | 11.0 | 12.6 |
| Alberta | . . . | . . . | . . . | |
| British Columbia | 31.9 | 46.7 | 26.3 | 32.7 |
| Yukon & Northwest Territories | 2.9 | 4.2 | 2.1 | 1.9 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

**Source:** Statistics Canada, based on data from *International and Interprovincial Migration in Canada*, Catalogue No. 91-208, Annual, and Catalogue No. 91-210, Annual.

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very late in the period, more than one-third of the flows involved exchanges
between these two provinces. As for in-migration from Saskatchewan and On-
tario, these two provinces switched their respective positions between the begin-
ning and the end of the period; Saskatchewan ranked first in the early 1970s.

## British Columbia

British Columbia's migration flows, unlike those of its neighbours, deviated
only slightly from their well-established pattern. Alberta and Ontario were
British Columbia's chief partners in population exchanges, the former because
of its proximity, the latter because of its population size. Exchanges with
Eastern Canada were sparse, probably because of distance (Table 22). Alber-
ta alone received 44% of the outflows from British Columbia and supplied
37% of the inflows; the consistency of these movements is reflected in the
low coefficient of variation. Together the Maritime provinces and Quebec ab-
sorbed 11% of the out-migration from British Columbia and provided nearly
14% of the in-migration.

**TABLE 22. British Columbia's Migration Exchanges with Other Provinces and
Territories, 1970 - 1983 Average**

| Province | 1970 - 1983 average | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Out-migration | Coeff. of variation | In-migration | Coeff. of variation |
| Newfoundland | 0.9 | 23% | 1.1 | 32% |
| Prince Edward Island | 0.3 | 31% | 0.3 | 25% |
| Nova Scotia | 3.4 | 10% | 3.2 | 16% |
| New Brunswick | 1.7 | 14% | 1.8 | 9% |
| Quebec | 4.8 | 15% | 7.3 | 20% |
| Ontario | 25.0 | 10% | 26.0 | 29% |
| Manitoba | 7.6 | 22% | 9.4 | 14% |
| Saskatchewan | 8.7 | 17% | 9.2 | 31% |
| Alberta | 44.2 | 9% | 36.7 | 8% |
| British Columbia | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Yukon & Northwest Territories | 3.5 | 19% | 3.0 | 16% |

Source: Statistics Canada, based on data from *International and Interprovincial Migration in Canada*,
Catalogue No. 91-208, Annual, and Catalogue No. 91-210, Annual.

## Quebec

Quebec's migration flows exhibit very distinct trends. During the 12 years
under study, in-migration declined steadily while out-migration remained vir-
tually stationary. The exception was 1977-78, when departures were 40% above
average and arrivals nearly 20% below average.

Population exchanges with Ontario were extremely high and regular (more
than 60% of inflows and outflows – Tables 23 and 24).

## TABLE 23. In-migration to Quebec by Province or Territory of Origin, 1971 - 72 to 1982 - 83

| Year | | Nfld. | P.E.I. | N.S. | N.B. | Que. | Ont. | Man. | Sask. | Alta. | B.C. | Yukon and N.W.T. | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1971 - 72 | Number | 1,084 | 259 | 2,105 | 3,520 | ... | 24,964 | 1,917 | 584 | 1,821 | 2,327 | 230 | 38,810 |
| | % | 2.8 | 0.7 | 5.4 | 9.1 | ... | 64.3 | 4.9 | 1.5 | 4.7 | 6.0 | 0.6 | 100 |
| 1972 - 73 | Number | 1,141 | 125 | 1,534 | 3,383 | ... | 23,389 | 1,432 | 468 | 1,624 | 2,361 | 137 | 35,594 |
| | % | 3.2 | 0.4 | 4.3 | 9.5 | ... | 65.7 | 4.0 | 1.3 | 4.6 | 6.6 | 0.4 | 100 |
| 1973 - 74 | Number | 1,305 | 213 | 1,892 | 3,262 | ... | 26,469 | 1,466 | 371 | 2,160 | 3,497 | 138 | 40,773 |
| | % | 3.2 | 0.5 | 4.6 | 8.0 | ... | 64.9 | 3.6 | 0.9 | 5.3 | 8.6 | 0.3 | 100 |
| 1974 - 75 | Number | 1,051 | 148 | 1,699 | 3,510 | ... | 25,129 | 1,215 | 443 | 1,532 | 2,948 | 159 | 37,834 |
| | % | 2.8 | 0.4 | 4.5 | 9.3 | ... | 66.4 | 3.2 | 1.2 | 4.0 | 7.8 | 0.4 | 100 |
| 1975 - 76 | Number | 878 | 177 | 1,354 | 3,045 | ... | 21,507 | 1,039 | 374 | 1,527 | 2,842 | 171 | 32,915 |
| | % | 2.7 | 0.5 | 4.1 | 9.3 | ... | 65.3 | 3.2 | 1.1 | 4.6 | 8.6 | 0.5 | 100 |
| 1976 - 77 | Number | 650 | 111 | 1,326 | 2,590 | ... | 18,378 | 913 | 414 | 1,488 | 2,707 | 290 | 28,867 |
| | % | 2.3 | 0.4 | 4.6 | 9.0 | ... | 63.7 | 3.2 | 1.4 | 5.2 | 9.4 | 1.0 | 100 |
| 1977 - 78 | Number | 572 | 77 | 1,229 | 2,337 | ... | 14,720 | 698 | 377 | 1,467 | 2,268 | 200 | 23,945 |
| | % | 2.4 | 0.3 | 5.1 | 9.8 | ... | 61.5 | 2.9 | 1.6 | 6.1 | 9.5 | 0.8 | 100 |
| 1978 - 79 | Number | 446 | 165 | 1,220 | 2,133 | ... | 15,527 | 776 | 524 | 1,658 | 2,809 | 261 | 25,524 |
| | % | 1.7 | 0.6 | 4.8 | 8.4 | ... | 60.8 | 3.0 | 2.1 | 6.5 | 11.0 | 1.0 | 100 |
| 1979 - 80 | Number | 370 | 96 | 1,158 | 2,082 | ... | 13,831 | 724 | 316 | 1,605 | 1,634 | 202 | 22,018 |
| | % | 1.7 | 0.4 | 5.3 | 9.5 | ... | 62.8 | 3.3 | 1.4 | 7.3 | 7.4 | 0.9 | 100 |
| 1980 - 81 | Number | 332 | 108 | 1,139 | 2,213 | ... | 13,983 | 734 | 362 | 1,984 | 1,852 | 198 | 22,905 |
| | % | 1.4 | 0.5 | 5.0 | 9.7 | ... | 61.0 | 3.2 | 1.6 | 8.7 | 8.1 | 0.9 | 100 |
| 1981 - 82 | Number | 285 | 73 | 1,034 | 1,902 | ... | 12,276 | 704 | 339 | 2,535 | 1,985 | 216 | 21,349 |
| | % | 1.3 | 0.3 | 4.8 | 8.9 | ... | 57.5 | 3.3 | 1.6 | 11.9 | 9.3 | 1.0 | 100 |
| 1982 - 83 | Number | 298 | 131 | 1,006 | 2,275 | ... | 14,572 | 586 | 472 | 5,451 | 2,312 | 349 | 27,452 |
| | % | 1.1 | 0.5 | 3.7 | 8.3 | ... | 53.1 | 2.1 | 1.7 | 19.9 | 8.4 | 1.3 | 100 |

**Source:** Statistics Canada, *International and Interprovincial Migration in Canada, 1961 - 1962 and 1975 - 1976*, Catalogue No. 91-208, and unpublished data for the years 1976-1977 and 1980-1981, from Revenue Canada. For 1981-1982 and 1982-1983, data are taken from *Postcensal Annual Estimates of Population by Marital Status, Age, Sex and Components of Growth for Canada and the Provinces*, Catalogue No. 91-210.

## TABLE 24. Out-migration from Quebec by Province or Territory of Destination, 1971 - 72 to 1982 - 83

| Year | | Nfld. | P.E.I. | N.S. | N.B. | Que. | Ont. | Man. | Sask. | Alta. | B.C. | Yukon and N.W.T. | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1971 - 72 | Number | 1,279 | 298 | 2,284 | 4,550 | ... | 40,810 | 1,868 | 422 | 2,682 | 4,971 | 167 | 59,271 |
| | % | 2.2 | 0.5 | 3.9 | 7.7 | ... | 68.9 | 3.2 | 0.7 | 4.5 | 8.4 | 0.3 | 100 |
| 1972 - 73 | Number | 1,040 | 371 | 2,735 | 4,365 | ... | 36,490 | 1,680 | 393 | 2,961 | 5,427 | 204 | 55,666 |
| | % | 1.9 | 0.7 | 4.9 | 7.8 | ... | 65.6 | 3.0 | 0.7 | 5.3 | 9.7 | 0.4 | 100 |
| 1973 - 74 | Number | 1,204 | 268 | 2,549 | 4,666 | ... | 36,239 | 1,969 | 535 | 3,188 | 5,068 | 223 | 55,909 |
| | % | 2.2 | 0.5 | 4.6 | 8.3 | ... | 64.8 | 3.5 | 1.0 | 5.7 | 9.1 | 0.4 | 100 |
| 1974 - 75 | Number | 928 | 361 | 2,478 | 4,789 | ... | 27,887 | 1,383 | 544 | 3,563 | 5,084 | 125 | 100 |
| | % | 2.0 | 0.8 | 5.3 | 10.2 | ... | 59.1 | 2.9 | 1.2 | 7.6 | 10.8 | 0.3 | 100 |
| 1975 - 76 | Number | 948 | 284 | 2,523 | 5,008 | ... | 26,979 | 1,571 | 513 | 3,824 | 3,738 | 168 | 45,557 |
| | % | 2.1 | 0.6 | 5.5 | 11.0 | ... | 59.2 | 3.4 | 1.1 | 8.4 | 8.2 | 0.4 | 100 |
| 1976 - 77 | Number | 672 | 364 | 2,159 | 3,279 | ... | 35,032 | 1,578 | 702 | 5,626 | 5,533 | 288 | 55,233 |
| | % | 1.2 | 0.7 | 3.9 | 5.9 | ... | 63.4 | 2.9 | 1.3 | 10.2 | 10.0 | 0.5 | 100 |
| 1977 - 78 | Number | 693 | 359 | 2,186 | 3,578 | ... | 46,453 | 1,589 | 829 | 8,068 | 6,302 | 317 | 70,374 |
| | % | 1.0 | 0.5 | 3.1 | 5.1 | ... | 66.0 | 2.3 | 1.2 | 11.5 | 9.0 | 0.3 | 100 |
| 1978 - 79 | Number | 499 | 212 | 1,847 | 2,906 | ... | 37,011 | 1,274 | 550 | 6,271 | 5,553 | 285 | 56,408 |
| | % | 0.9 | 0.4 | 3.3 | 5.2 | ... | 65.6 | 2.3 | 1.0 | 11.1 | 9.8 | 0.5 | 100 |
| 1979 - 80 | Number | 512 | 208 | 1,577 | 2,877 | ... | 32,426 | 1,080 | 579 | 7,397 | 5,064 | 274 | 51,994 |
| | % | 1.0 | 0.4 | 3.0 | 5.5 | ... | 62.4 | 2.1 | 1.1 | 14.2 | 9.7 | 0.5 | 100 |
| 1980 - 81 | Number | 378 | 143 | 1,496 | 2,461 | ... | 27,036 | 841 | 521 | 8,048 | 4,550 | 272 | 45,746 |
| | % | 0.8 | 0.3 | 3.3 | 5.4 | ... | 59.1 | 1.8 | 1.1 | 17.6 | 9.9 | 0.6 | 100 |
| 1981 - 82 | Number | 496 | 146 | 1,304 | 2,586 | ... | 27,821 | 985 | 641 | 9,135 | 3,700 | 325 | 47,139 |
| | % | 2.9 | 0.9 | 3.4 | 7.2 | ... | 57.3 | 2.3 | 1.3 | 19.3 | 7.0 | 0.6 | 100 |
| 1982 - 83 | Number | 375 | 282 | 1,485 | 3,213 | ... | 29,995 | 1,031 | 805 | 8,065 | 4,534 | 235 | 50,020 |
| | % | 0.7 | 0.6 | 3.0 | 6.4 | ... | 60.0 | 2.1 | 1.6 | 16.1 | 9.1 | 0.5 | 100 |

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Out-migration to Alberta increased, accounting for a growing proportion of departures in the 1970s. Inflows from that province remained proportionately quite low until 1981-82 and 1982-83 when they increased very substantially, largely due to the return migration mentioned earlier.

The Atlantic Provinces

One of every four people who migrate from an Atlantic province (one of three in some years) goes to a neighbouring province. Even more frequently the destination is Ontario. However, over the past decade, the traditional appeal of these destinations has waned as Alberta's power of attraction strengthened, and outflows to that province increased almost four-fold before slowing considerably in 1982-83 (Table 26). Alberta's appeal also had a negative impact on out-migration to Quebec, a less attractive but closer destination. Outflows to British Columbia have been much more constant than those to Alberta.

TABLE 25. Average In-migration to the Atlantic Provinces by Province
or Territory of Origin 1971 - 1983

|  | Atlantic Provinces | Que. | Ont. | Man. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **In-migration** |  |  |  |  |
| Average 1971 - 1983 | 14,977 | 6,763 | 22,128 | 1,680 |
| Coeff. of variation % | 12 | 26 | 29 | 21 |

|  | Sask. | Alta. | B.C. | Yukon and N.W.T. | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **In-migration** |  |  |  |  |  |
| Average 1971 - 1983 | 783 | 4,196 | 3,264 | 330 | 54,122 |
| Coeff. of variation % | 27 | 56 | 17 | 42 | 17 |

In-migration (Table 25) has not fluctuated dramatically from one year to the next. Like outflows, internal moves accounted for nearly 27% of the total; inflows from Ontario were predominant (about 42%). In contrast, arrivals from Alberta increased, to such an extent, especially during the last two years of the period, that the average figure of 4,300 is a poor indicator of the actual situation: arrivals from Alberta numbered 3,000 in the early 1970s and 10,000 in the early 1980s. These were not due to normal fluctuations but rather to the return migration of workers who had been drawn away from the Maritimes by the booming Alberta economy several years earlier.

**TABLE 26. Out-migration from the Atlantic Provinces by Province or Territory of Destination, 1971 - 72 to 1982 - 83**

| Year | Atlantic Provinces | Que. | Ont. | Man. | Sask. | Alta. | B.C. | Yukon and N.W.T. | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1971 - 72 | 15,634 | 6,968 | 27,220 | 1,219 | 581 | 2,856 | 4,353 | 238 | 59,069 |
| 1972 - 73 | 16,032 | 6,183 | 22,643 | 1,559 | 439 | 2,658 | 3,797 | 379 | 53,695 |
| 1973 - 74 | 18,227 | 6,672 | 28,205 | 3,057 | 573 | 3,742 | 4,839 | 188 | 65,503 |
| 1974 - 75 | 17,205 | 6,408 | 21,243 | 2,505 | 1,031 | 4,343 | 5,251 | 532 | 58,518 |
| 1975 - 76 | 16,797 | 5,454 | 19,865 | 1,917 | 932 | 4,311 | 3,455 | 291 | 53,022 |
| 1976 - 77 | 14,838 | 4,677 | 19,355 | 2,290 | 959 | 7,100 | 4,060 | 552 | 53,831 |
| 1977 - 78 | 14,168 | 4,215 | 17,752 | 1,935 | 1,008 | 8,250 | 4,777 | 574 | 52,679 |
| 1978 - 79 | 14,656 | 3,964 | 16,903 | 1,736 | 930 | 8,288 | 4,821 | 558 | 51,856 |
| 1979 - 80 | 13,408 | 3,706 | 17,211 | 1,812 | 855 | 10,861 | 4,781 | 602 | 53,236 |
| 1980 - 81 | 13,128 | 3,792 | 17,072 | 1,713 | 1,133 | 14,351 | 5,134 | 752 | 57,075 |
| 1981 - 82 | 12,865 | 3,294 | 17,298 | 1,630 | 1,063 | 14,468 | 4,696 | 907 | 56,221 |
| 1982 - 83 | 12,762 | 3,710 | 17,021 | 1,247 | 841 | 7,805 | 3,669 | 535 | 47,590 |

# NUPTIALITY AND DIVORCE

## Nuptiality

All marriages recorded during any given year can be divided into two categories: first marriages and remarriages. While it is easy to obtain the absolute number of marriages (all previous marital statuses combined), analysis of the nuptiality rate requires differentiation between first and subsequent marriages as well as separate consideration of men and women since a given marriage may be the first marriage for one spouse and a remarriage for the other. The number of marriages depends on the size of the marriage market (single, widowed and divorced persons) and on the propensity to marry. Since few marriages are terminated by death before the age when nuptiality is high, the number of marriageable people depends primarily on the number of births some 20 years earlier and the number of divorces in preceding years. The propensity to marry is governed by many non-demographic factors. While the total number of marriages has declined since 1972 by an average of some 1,100 marriages per year (with occasional fluctuations), the proportion of remarriages for both sexes has increased. This leads to two important conclusions: first, an increasingly large proportion of the population is marrying more than once; second, marriage is attracting fewer single people.

## An Index in a Nosedive

The graph of the total nuptiality rate (Chart II) shows that since the late 1960s, the proportion of males or females who entered a first marriage has fallen steadily at a rate comparable to that of the 1930s. This trend levelled off in 1979 and 1980, but has since continued downward. Indeed, it is now safe to say that this decline in nuptiality will be seen as one of the most remarkable in Canada's history. The 656 first marriages per 1,000 males and 663 per 1,000 females recorded in 1982 broke the record low of 1932. If future cohorts' propensity to marry were the same as that of the previous cohorts at all ages in 1983, only 65 males or females out of 100 would marry in their lifetimes, or to be more accurate before the age of 50. Ten years earlier, it looked as if the proportions would be 97% for men and 93% for women. The drop can be attributed in part to the rise in age at first marriage, but the trend has lasted too long to be explained by this change alone and one can legitimately suspect that nuptiality itself has slumped.[5]

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[5] Marriage is an event indirectly related to population movement and thus cannot be regarded as a vital demographic event on a par with birth and death. Furthermore, the association of the concepts of marriage and the union of two people has never been systematic or rigorous. Marriage is regarded for the purposes of data collection as a quasi-legal statistic, whereas union is a social reality. Common-law unions were long presumed to be so rare that social analysis ignored them. More recently, however, many indices suggest that they are far more numerous than in the past, if only because of the perhaps temporary decline in marriage rates. It would be useful to know more about this form of conjugal life, but by their very nature, common-law unions can only be subject to superficial quantitative analysis based on census data. Not only is little or nothing known about when such unions commence and terminate, but very little is known about their characteristics. However, for the vast majority of couples in 1983, conjugal life within the bounds of marriage remains the established lifestyle. Thus, the word "marriage" is to be taken here in its strictest sense, the legally sanctioned union of two people of opposite sexes.

Chart II
**Total Nuptiality Rate, Canada, 1921-1982**
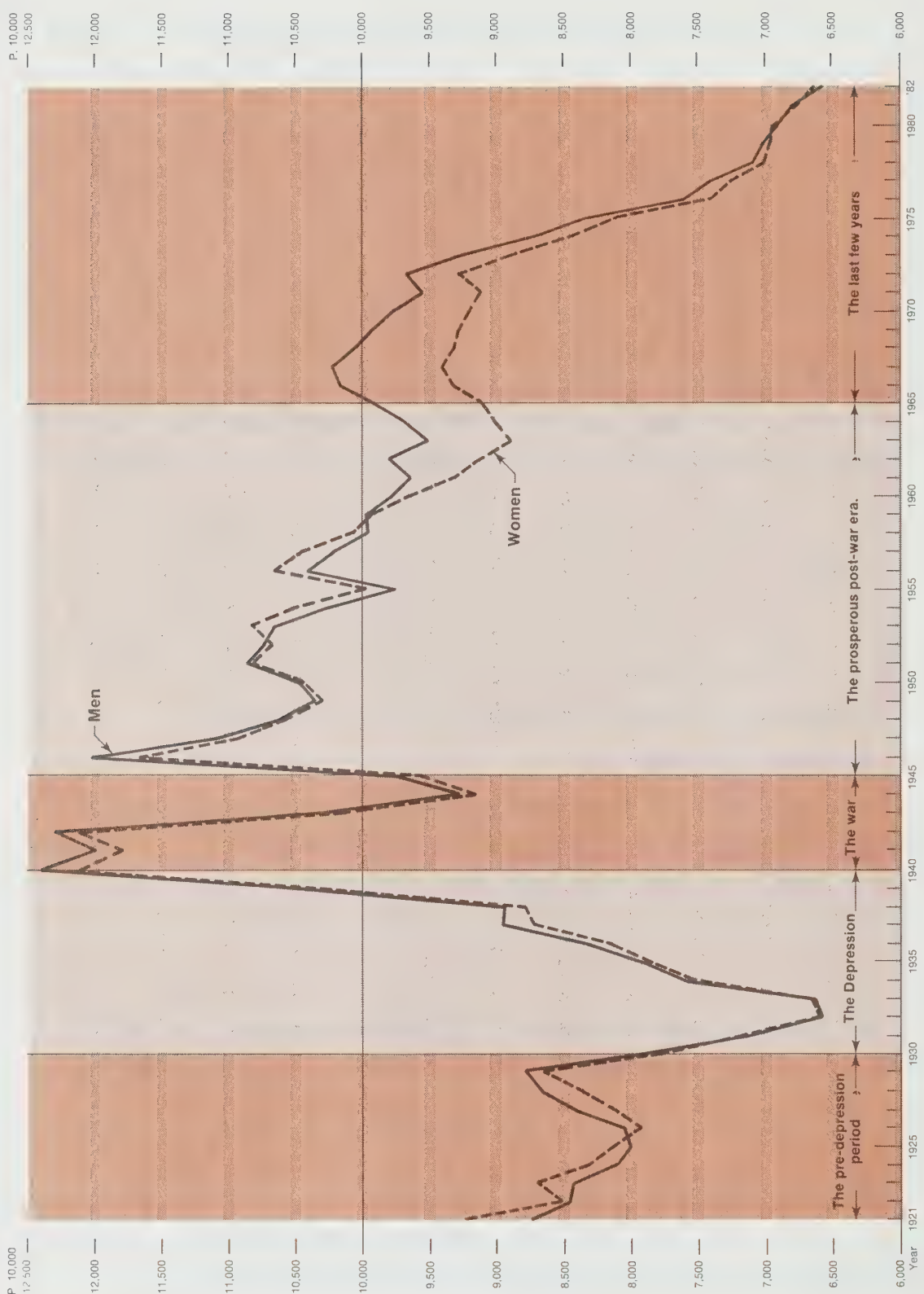
However, there are major differences between the two situations, for both male and female nuptiality. The decline of the 1930s occurred at a time when nuptiality was at a moderate level (Chart II). The current decline is all the more spectacular as it began at a time (1966) of high nuptiality, especially among men. What is more, this drop has now been going on for 15 years, whereas it lasted only three years during the Depression. This implies that each of the cohorts involved in the current downturn has maintained the trend for much longer than did those concerned in the decline of the 1930s. As a result, the frequency of nuptiality among present cohorts (the proportion of men and women who will eventually marry before age 50) will probably be considerably lower, and the average age at marriage will probably increase, provided that marriage is simply postponed and not rejected altogether. For example, the marrying period of the 1880-82 cohorts had extended over approximately 20 years and was nearing its end when the Depression struck. However, men aged 38 in 1921 were still marrying at the rate of 120 per 1,000. In contrast, males in the 1942 cohort marrying at the same age (38 years old in 1980) were doing so at the rate of only 35 per 1,000. But since 80% of the members of this cohort were already married by age 32, it may be assumed that the majority of those who ever intended to marry had already done so. The same probably could not be said of the 1880-82 cohorts, even though there are no supporting data. It is likely, therefore, that a smaller proportion of the recent cohorts will marry at least once.

Chart III reveals that marriages among recent cohorts are more concentrated than among the older cohorts. This concentration of marriages around the modal age, for both males and females, results from later marriages and near-zero nuptiality after age 35, regardless of the cohort considered.

**The Near Future**

What do these observations suggest about the future behaviour of recent cohorts? The male cohort born in 1953 (aged 30 in 1983) has not yet reached the end of its marrying period. However, its modal nuptiality rate peaked at 103 per 1,000, compared with upwards of 130 per 1,000 for the 1943 and 1948 cohorts (Table 47A). Then, starting at age 27, its nuptiality rate exceeded that of the previous cohorts at the same age, clearly indicating that its marriages will be spread over a longer period (Chart IIIA). Does this cohort mark the beginning of an upturn in late marriages? Even if it does, its late start leaves little hope that it will attain the same frequency of marriage as preceding cohorts. The 1953 male cohort, an estimated 88% of which will marry at least once, will closely resemble the cohorts of the early 1900s (Chart III). On the other hand, it is very difficult to predict the marriage patterns of the more recent cohorts, those whose members were still under 25 in 1983. Both men and women are waiting longer and longer before marrying (Chart III) and it is highly unlikely that 90% of the members of the cohorts born between 1955 and 1960 will marry. This 90% would imply that most of the marriages that were "missing" from the early part of this marrying period were simply postponed, a doubtful assumption at best.

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Chart IIIA
**Age Specific First Marriage Rates for Recent Cohorts, Canada**

Men

P. 10,000

Gén. 1948
Gén. 1943
Gén. 1938
Gén. 1958
Gén. 1959
Gén. 1953
Gén. 1960
Gén. 1961

Age
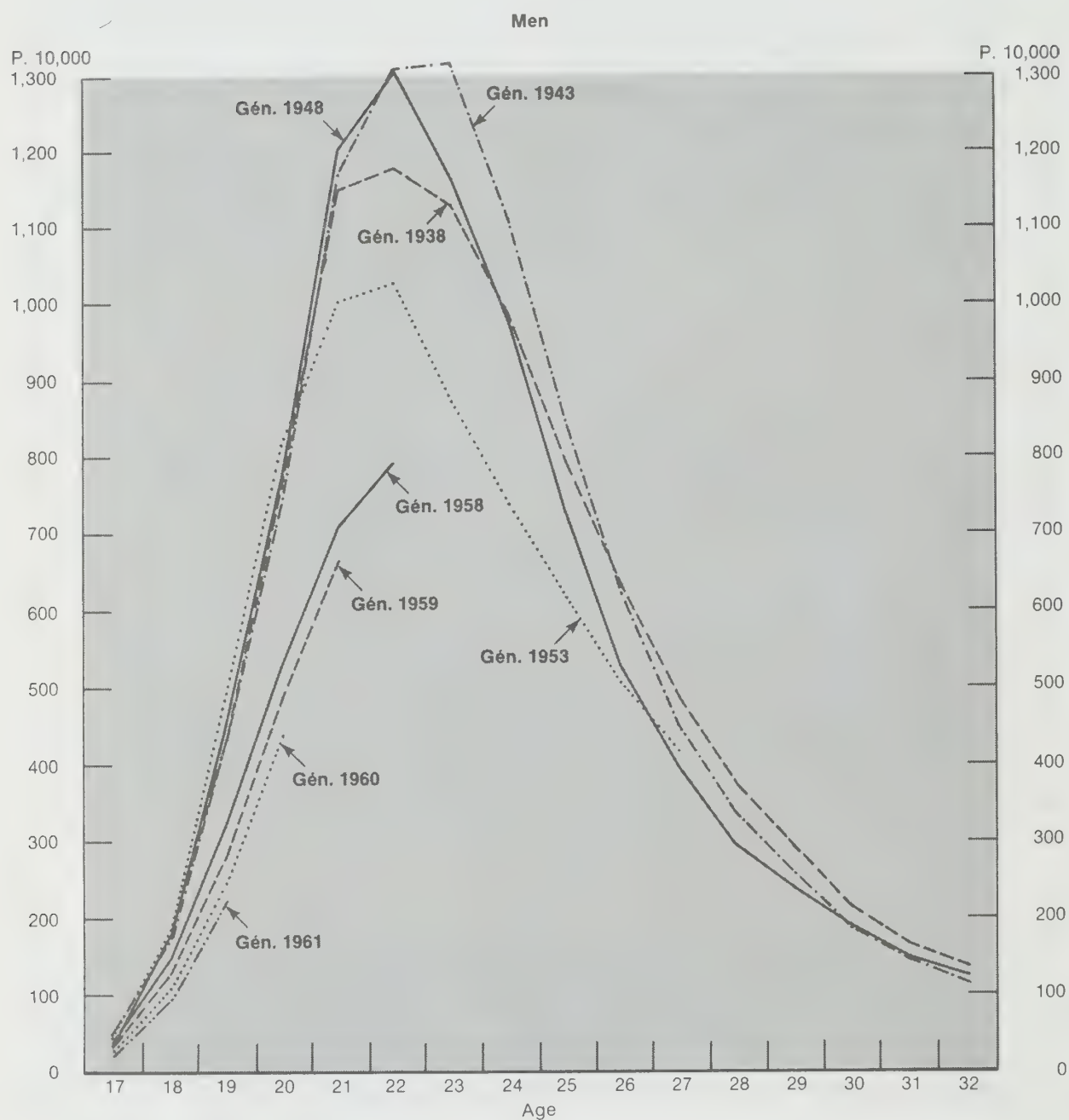
For these reasons, some believe that the institution of marriage is losing popularity. If the traditional social and legal constraints on common-law marriage continue to ease, cohabitation without marriage may become more prevalent than ever before. Waning interest in reproduction, which is prompting more couples to remain childless, tends to erode interest in marriage, previously considered essential to the socialization of children. In addition, legislative changes have been made to guarantee common-law partners the same parental, insurance and inheritance rights that married couples enjoy. Though the future is never certain, Canada's *de jure* single population may well grow quite substantially in all age groups.

## Age Specific First Marriage Rates for Recent Cohorts, Canada

Women
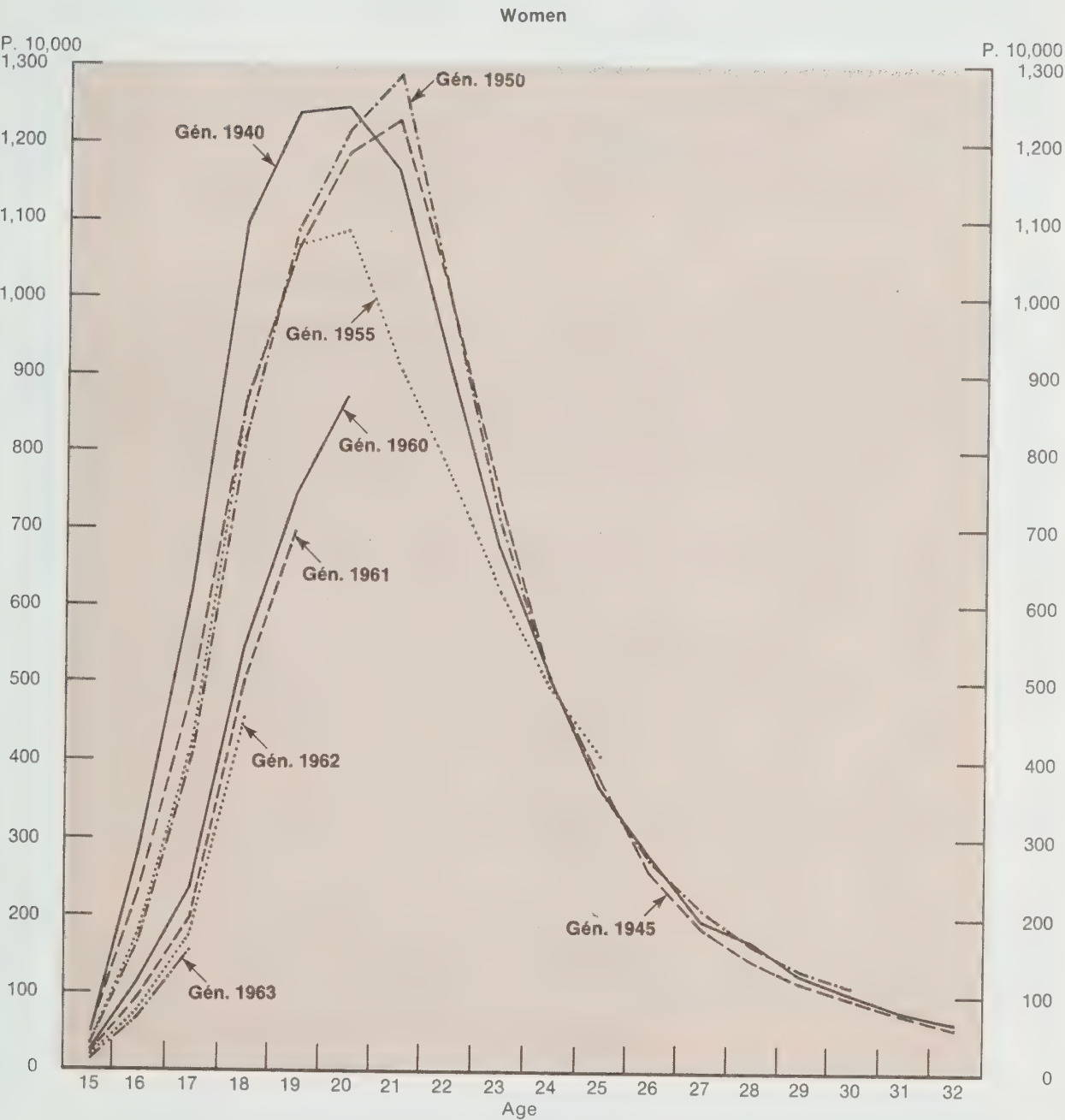


# Divorce

## A Conceptual Problem

An analysis of divorce poses a number of difficulties, not the least of which is a major conceptual problem. Put simply, the divorce decree is the only dated event recorded for statistical purposes. But it does not provide the desired information, namely the effective end of cohabitation, since the divorce decree never coincides with the couple's physical separation. First of all, a certain amount of time generally elapses between the actual breakup of a marriage and the filing of divorce papers. Secondly, there is another interval, the length of which varies considerably, between filing and the issuance of the decree.

An analysis of divorce based on duration of marriage thus leads to measurements the accuracy and significance of which should not be overestimated, since with growing frequency, marriage does not mark the formation of a union but the legalization of an existing union whose formation date cannot be determined. If a sociological analysis were conducted, it would also be necessary to subtract the unknown, but certainly sizeable, number of divorces following marriages of convenience, wherein individuals marry, without there being necessarily any conjugal life, to obtain certain privileges and benefits, connected with marriage, such as immigration visas or tax advantages.

## Divorces on the Rise

Since July 1968, when the Divorce Act was amended, the annual number of divorces has grown substantially and steadily (Table 27). A small portion of this increase is attributable to a rise in Canada's married population, but most of it stems from the increasing ease with which a divorce can be obtained.

**TABLE 27. Annual Number of Divorces Granted and Increase over Preceding Year, Canada, 1967 - 1981**

| Year | Number of divorces | Increase over preceding year (%) |
|---|---|---|
| 1967 | 11,165 | |
| 1968 | 11,343 | 2 |
| 1969 | 21,988 | 94 |
| 1970 | 29,239 | 33 |
| 1971 | 29,685 | 2 |
| 1972 | 32,389 | 9 |
| 1973 | 36,704 | 13 |
| 1974 | 45,019 | 23 |
| 1975 | 50,611 | 12 |
| 1976 | 54,209 | 7 |
| 1977 | 55,370 | 2 |
| 1978 | 57,155 | 3 |
| 1979 | 59,474 | 4 |
| 1980 | 62,019 | 4 |
| 1981 | 67,671 | 9 |
| 1982 | 70,436 | 4 |

**Source:** Statistics Canada, *Vital Statistics, Vol. II, Marriages and Divorces,* Catalogue No. 84-205, Annual.

Between 1971 and 1982, the number of divorces more than doubled, with the most significant increase occurring between 1972 and 1975. That sudden surge during those years was very unusual. It may be supposed that it was due to the legal sanction of *de facto* separations, but it may also have been caused by breakups that might not have taken place if the amended legislation had not lifted constraints that, though traditionally respected, had met with increasing opposition.

Since 1975, the number of divorces has continued to rise and the rate of increase has accelerated each year. From 1976 to 1980, it rose by 2.1%, 3.2%, 4.1% and 4.3%. The 9% increase between 1980 and 1981 was exceptional and can be traced to an initiative taken by the Chief Justice of Montreal.[6] In order to reduce the backlog of divorce petitions, he added 3,000 cases to the normal number of hearings scheduled for the divorce courts. Had it not been for this, there would have been only about 64,500 divorces in Canada, a 5.6% increase over 1980, which is consistent with the steady upward trend observed since 1977. In 1982, there were only 4.5% more divorces than in 1981.

## Measuring the Divorce Rate

The incidence of divorce is often measured by calculating a crude divorce rate as the ratio of the number of divorces to the total average population. However, because this measurement is far too rudimentary, it is preferable to use a rate that relates divorces and couples (the population at risk of divorce). Despite the reservations expressed in the introduction to this topic, these rates are computed by duration of marriage. Since the number of marriages remaining in the marriage cohorts at each duration of marriage is unknown, the number of divorce decrees must be divided by the initial number of marriages in the study cohort[7] (Table 50). If, for example, in year x there were 300 divorces among couples married for 10 years, these 300 dissolutions would be divided by the number of marriages recorded in the year x minus 10.

The divorce rate can then be summed in two ways to derive a frequency index:

- The duration-specific rates for a given year can be summed to produce a current index, the total divorce rate, covering some 30 or more marriage cohorts (cross-sectional analysis).

- The duration-specific rates for a given marriage cohort can be summed to produce a cohort index, which yields clearer results but requires observations covering approximately 30 years. It measures the proportion of marriages dissolved by divorce within a particular real marriage cohort (longitudinal analysis).

In view of the short period covered by available detailed information on divorces, anything more than a fragmentary analysis of cohort behaviour is impossible.

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[6] Statistics Canada, *The Daily,* December 17, 1982, p. 7.
[7] By implication, then, the impact of mortality and migration on the number of duration-specific marriages is regarded as negligible.

## The Cross Sectional Approach

More than any other index constructed in the same manner, the total rate can easily be misleading if its underlying assumptions are not made absolutely clear. Suppose that the 1982 rate was 366.5. It means that if 10,000 couples began their married life in 1982, and divorced at the same duration-specific rates as couples of previous marriage cohorts divorced in 1982, divorce alone would account for the dissolution of 3,665 of those marriages after 25 years. Clearly, this is mere speculation about the future propensity to divorce of couples married in 1982. There are no firm grounds for claiming that the divorce patterns of these couples will conform to the composite divorce pattern exhibited by couples still married in 1982.

The result of summing the divorce rates for the 1969-81 period for marriages of up to 25 years' duration (that is, ignoring marriages lasting more than 25 years) understates the divorce rate (Chart IV).

Chart IV
**Total Divorce Rate, Canada, 1969-1982**
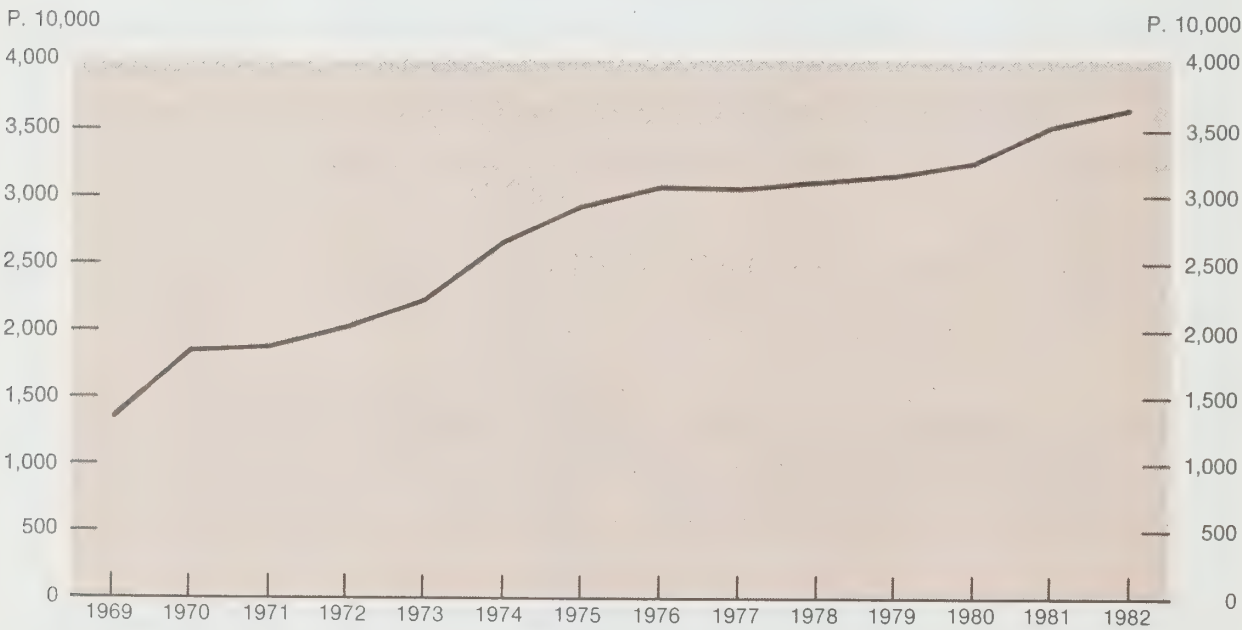


Source: Table 28.

Despite the foregoing biases, the pattern that emerges in the divorce rate is essentially the same as the trend in the number of divorces (Table 27). There is unquestionably an increase in the rate, but a clear understanding of the current situation requires analysis of the marital case histories of the marriage cohorts now at risk.

## The Longitudinal Approach

The data for 1969 to 1981 are set out in Table 28 so as to trace the marriage cohorts formed between 1943 and 1982 over a period of 13 years or less. The duration-specific divorces granted in a given year pertain to marriages recorded

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during two consecutive calendar years. Half the sum of these marriages represents the size of the cohorts designated by the years in question. For example, the initial number of marriages in the 1953-54 cohort equals half the sum of marriages in 1953 (131,034) and 1954 (128,629). These figures are shown in the first columns of Table 28.

The oldest cohort for which some information is available is that of 1943-44. At the 25-year mark, this cohort had a divorce rate of 44 per 10,000. The only data available on the most recent cohort (1981-82) indicate that 10 in 10,000 marriages were dissolved by divorce within the first year.

Because the time series is so short, the divorce behaviour of the various cohorts can be observed only over a brief period and at different stages in their married lives. For the oldest cohorts, the only information available concerns divorces following long periods of marriage. Observation of the cohorts formed since 1968 is confined to the early stages of their married lives.

For the latter cohorts, it is clear that the more recent the cohort, the higher the number of divorces for each duration (Chart V). For example, after seven years of marriage, 746 of every 10,000 couples in the 1967-68 cohort had divorced, whereas the corresponding figure for the 1973-74 cohort was 1,130 (a 50% increase). Should this trend continue, more than 14% of the 1978-79 cohort (1,454 out of 10,000 couples) will have divorced within seven years (Table 49).

For all the cohorts covered in Table 28, the known modal value[8] of the divorce rate distribution tends to occur earlier for each succeeding cohort (Table 29). The reason for this is that a backlog of divorces was cleared up in 1973, 1974 and 1975. Thus, the cohort-to-cohort decrease in the modal duration of marriage does not necessarily reflect increasingly early marriage breakdown, but may also stem from the greater opportunity that all members of the study cohorts had to divorce in those years, regardless of duration of marriage.

From the 1968-69 cohort onward the modal duration has remained steady at seven years. Interestingly, that cohort was the first to be formed subsequent to amendment of the Divorce Act. This suggests that previous cohorts were "late" in their timing, as it were, and did some catching up. Supporting this theory is the fact that starting with the 1968-69 cohort, the duration-specific risks of divorce have followed the same pattern regardless of the cohort considered; the only factor that changes is the magnitude of the risks.

The decrease in the number of years between the marriage and the modal year of divorce is also a result of the growing number of remarriages among divorced people. It is known that divorce is more frequent (and marriages shorter) among couples in which one of the spouses was previously divorced.

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[8] For the oldest cohorts, this is in all likelihood the second mode.

**TABLE 28. Duration-specific Divorce Rate (per 10,000), Canada, Marriage Cohorts, 1943 - 44 to 1981 - 82**

| Year | Number of marriages per calendar year | Marriage cohort | Cohort marriages | Marriage duration | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Year of observation | Total index |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | 21 | 22 | 23 | 24 | 25 | | |
| 1944 | 104,656 | 1943 - 44 | 109,241 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 44 | 1969 | 1,370 |
| 1945 | 111,376 | 1944 - 45 | 108,016 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 51 | 50 | 1970 | 1,863 |
| 1946 | 137,398 | 1945 - 46 | 124,387 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 52 | 56 | 48 | 1971 | 1,885 |
| 1947 | 130,400 | 1946 - 47 | 133,899 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 48 | 55 | 49 | 46 | 1972 | 2,007 |
| 1948 | 126,118 | 1947 - 48 | 128,259 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 47 | 56 | 50 | 50 | 54 | 1973 | 2,233 |
| 1949 | 124,087 | 1948 - 49 | 125,102 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 50 | 58 | 56 | 52 | 60 | 58 | 1974 | 2,673 |
| 1950 | 125,083 | 1949 - 50 | 124,585 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 51 | 60 | 55 | 58 | 59 | 68 | 64 | 1975 | 2,932 |
| 1951 | 128,408 | 1950 - 51 | 126,745 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 51 | 64 | 61 | 59 | 60 | 73 | 69 | 71 | 1976 | 3,072 |
| 1952 | 128,474 | 1951 - 52 | 128,441 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 53 | 65 | 63 | 62 | 63 | 74 | 74 | 76 | 69 | 1977 | 3,063 |
| 1953 | 131,034 | 1952 - 53 | 129,754 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 54 | 69 | 70 | 64 | 67 | 75 | 80 | 76 | 69 | 55 | 1978 | 3,103 |
| 1954 | 128,629 | 1953 - 54 | 129,831 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 50 | 70 | 64 | 62 | 71 | 86 | 82 | 78 | 75 | 70 | 62 | 1979 | 3,180 |
| 1955 | 128,029 | 1954 - 55 | 128,329 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 57 | 73 | 65 | 68 | 69 | 85 | 85 | 83 | 75 | 70 | 68 | 65 | 1980 | 3,277 |
| 1956 | 132,713 | 1955 - 56 | 130,371 | | | | | | | | | | | | | 59 | 83 | 71 | 73 | 77 | 87 | 90 | 90 | 89 | 78 | 74 | 69 | 71 | 1981 | 3,529 |
| 1957 | 133,186 | 1956 - 57 | 132,949 | | | | | | | | | | | | 67 | 82 | 76 | 75 | 78 | 92 | 105 | 96 | 87 | 85 | 84 | 75 | 74 | 66 | 1982 | 3,655 |
| 1958 | 131,525 | 1957 - 58 | 132,355 | | | | | | | | | | | 61 | 79 | 81 | 81 | 83 | 91 | 101 | 97 | 92 | 84 | 82 | 77 | 78 | 73 | | | |
| 1959 | 132,474 | 1958 - 59 | 131,999 | | | | | | | | | | 68 | 91 | 82 | 80 | 86 | 96 | 105 | 103 | 92 | 89 | 80 | 78 | 83 | 75 | | | | |
| 1960 | 130,338 | 1959 - 60 | 131,406 | | | | | | | | | 70 | 93 | 95 | 91 | 97 | 111 | 111 | 110 | 100 | 95 | 90 | 84 | 91 | 87 | | | | | |
| 1961 | 128,475 | 1960 - 61 | 129,406 | | | | | | | | 73 | 97 | 95 | 95 | 97 | 119 | 119 | 116 | 108 | 100 | 95 | 94 | 95 | 94 | | | | | | |
| 1962 | 129,381 | 1961 - 62 | 128,928 | | | | | | | 71 | 105 | 99 | 106 | 103 | 121 | 133 | 123 | 115 | 108 | 97 | 96 | 98 | 105 | | | | | | | |
| 1963 | 131,111 | 1962 - 63 | 130,246 | | | | | | 71 | 114 | 113 | 112 | 114 | 131 | 133 | 134 | 124 | 118 | 104 | 99 | 107 | 105 | | | | | | | | |
| 1964 | 138,135 | 1963 - 64 | 134,623 | | | | | 68 | 106 | 109 | 113 | 124 | 142 | 136 | 140 | 128 | 126 | 114 | 110 | 113 | 109 | | | | | | | | | |
| 1965 | 145,519 | 1964 - 65 | 141,827 | | | | 61 | 98 | 112 | 121 | 134 | 150 | 153 | 153 | 139 | 134 | 124 | 117 | 118 | 113 | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1966 | 155,596 | 1965 - 66 | 150,557 | | | 42 | 93 | 112 | 128 | 143 | 156 | 162 | 163 | 148 | 137 | 130 | 120 | 121 | 115 | | | | | | | | | | | |

**Source:** See end of table.

**TABLE 28. Duration-specific Divorce Rate (per 10,000), Canada, Marriage Cohorts, 1943 - 44 to 1981 - 82 – Concluded**

| Year | Number of marriages per calendar year | Marriage cohort | Cohort marriages | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | 21 | 22 | 23 | 24 | 25 | Year of observation | Total index |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Marriage duration | |
| 1967 | 165,879 | 1966 - 67 | 160,737 | | | 31 | 68 | 102 | 126 | 139 | 166 | 177 | 171 | 155 | 145 | 136 | 132 | 130 | 128 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1968 | 171,766 | 1967 - 68 | 168,823 | | 17 | 49 | 75 | 115 | 142 | 162 | 183 | 173 | 165 | 156 | 151 | 136 | 138 | 138 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1969 | 182,183 | 1968 - 69 | 176,974 | 3 | 22 | 53 | 83 | 122 | 158 | 182 | 184 | 171 | 165 | 160 | 152 | 147 | 144 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1970 | 188,428 | 1969 - 70 | 185,305 | 3 | 25 | 55 | 92 | 151 | 177 | 192 | 192 | 176 | 174 | 163 | 162 | 157 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1971 | 191,324 | 1970 - 71 | 189,876 | 4 | 28 | 61 | 106 | 161 | 186 | 189 | 191 | 184 | 180 | 172 | 166 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1972 | 200,490 | 1971 - 72 | 195,907 | 4 | 33 | 74 | 117 | 174 | 193 | 196 | 197 | 191 | 187 | 185 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1973 | 199,064 | 1972 - 73 | 199,777 | 5 | 36 | 83 | 129 | 181 | 203 | 212 | 203 | 205 | 204 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1974 | 198,824 | 1973 - 74 | 198,944 | 5 | 44 | 94 | 136 | 184 | 213 | 223 | 228 | 218 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1975 | 197,585 | 1974 - 75 | 198,205 | 6 | 52 | 104 | 147 | 199 | 224 | 243 | 232 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1976 | 193,343 | 1975 - 76 | 195,464 | 8 | 59 | 111 | 161 | 208 | 234 | 246 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1977 | 187,344 | 1976 - 77 | 190,343 | 8 | 63 | 116 | 166 | 223 | 250 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1978 | 185,523 | 1977 - 78 | 186,434 | 7 | 65 | 117 | 165 | 237 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1979 | 187,811 | 1978 - 79 | 186,667 | 8 | 64 | 173 | 187 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1980 | 191,069 | 1979 - 80 | 189,440 | 8 | 68 | 137 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1981 | 190,075 | 1980 - 81 | 190,575 | 9 | 74 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1982 | 187,820 | 1981 - 82 | 189,951 | 10 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

**Source:** Based on data from Table 25 and *Vital Statistics, Vol. II, Marriages and Divorces*, Catalogue No. 84-205, Annual.

This applies equally well to the overall increase in the divorce rate. From a sociological standpoint, it would be interesting to know the divorce rate for first marriages only.

**Rising Divorce Rates**

An analysis of the recent past points to an upward trend not only in the number of divorces but also in the divorce rate (the propensity of marriages to break down). The total divorce rate is rising in response to a sharp increase in age-specific divorce rates for short-lived marriages and virtual stabilization of the rates for longer-lived marriages. A total divorce rate of approximately 4,100 per 10,000 for 1985 is thus not an unreasonable forecast.[9] Beyond that, it is difficult to make predictions. It should be recalled that absolute divorce figures can rise or fall without a concomitant rise or fall in the divorce rate. This caveat about the relationship between events and the phenomenon they represent holds for other demographic variables as well.

[9] A publication of Statistics Canada: *Divorce: Law and the Family in Canada*, states that for 1975-1977, the probability that a person married at age 15 would get divorced at least once in his or her life was 37.7 for males and 36.2 for females (p. 75 and p. 77). Thus, calculations done in different ways have led to essentially the same picture of sociological reality.

**TABLE 29. Duration of Marriage at which the Modal Value of the Divorce Rate is Located in the Known Period of the Married Life of Recent Marriage Cohorts, Canada**

| Cohort | Duration (years) | Cohort | Duration (years) |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1949 - 1950 | 24 | 1961 - 1962 | 13 |
| 1950 - 1951 | 23 | 1962 - 1963 | 13 |
| 1951 - 1952 | 24 | 1963 - 1964 | 10 |
| 1952 - 1953 | 22 | 1964 - 1965 | 10 - 11 |
| 1953 - 1954 | 20 | 1965 - 1966 | 10 |
| 1954 - 1955 | 19 - 20 | 1966 - 1967 | 8 |
| 1955 - 1956 | 19 - 20 | 1967 - 1968 | 7 |
| 1956 - 1957 | 18 | 1968 - 1969 | 7 |
| 1957 - 1958 | 17 | 1969 - 1970 | 6 - 7 |
| 1958 - 1959 | 16 | 1970 - 1971 | 7 |
| 1959 - 1960 | 14 - 15 | 1971 - 1972 | 7 |
| 1960 - 1961 | 13 - 14 | 1972 - 1973 | 7 |

**Source:** Based on data from Table 28.

Chart V

**Cumulative Divorce Rate by Length of Marriage
in Recent Cohorts, Canada**



P. 10,000

In years
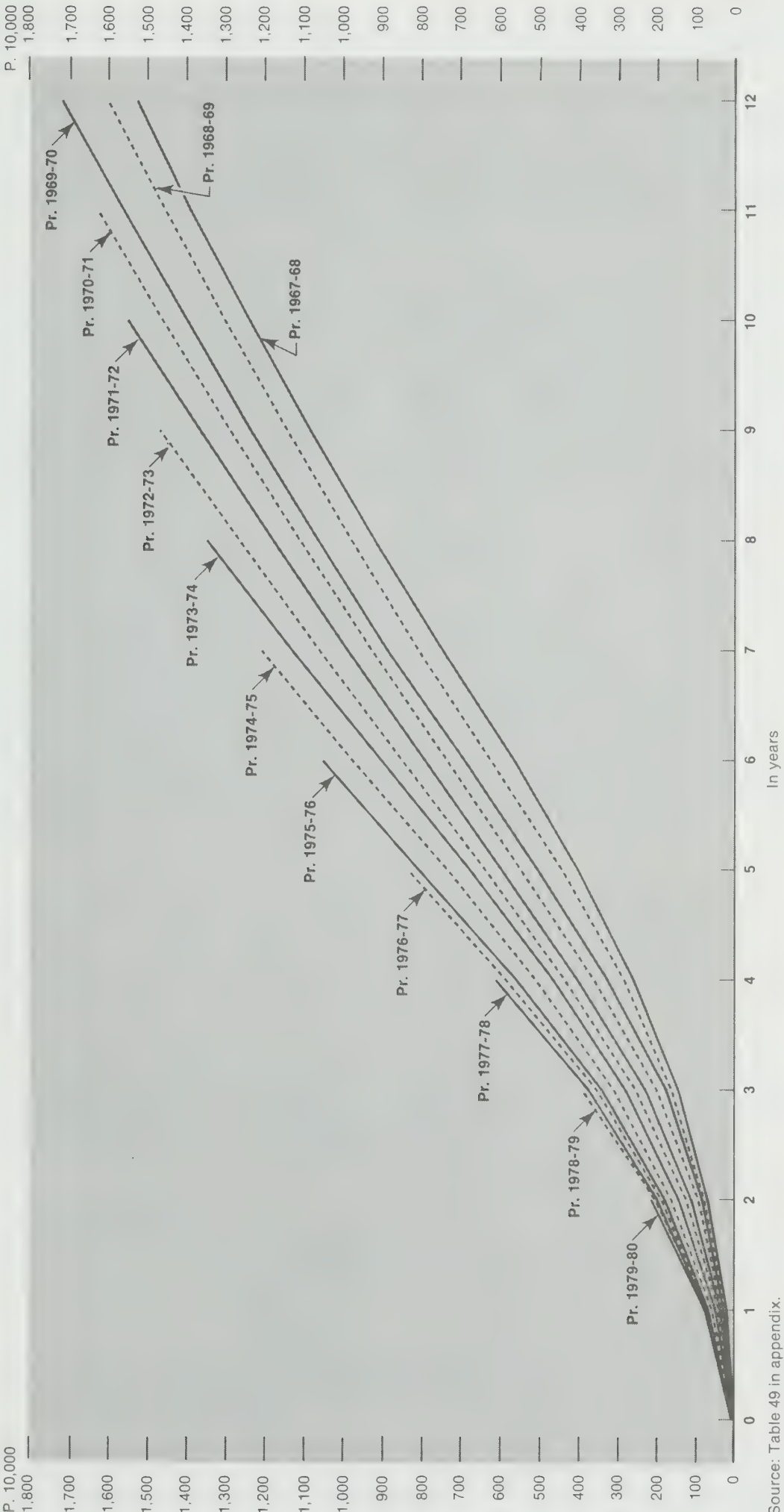
Source: Table 49 in appendix.

# FERTILITY OF WOMEN OF ALL MARITAL STATUSES

The 1982 figures indicate a fertility level of about 1.7 children per woman. This total fertility rate is to be interpreted as the number of children which a woman would have over her lifetime if her age-specific fertility behaviour in any given year matched that of women of all childbearing ages[10] in that year.

The recent decrease in fertility, which is not unique to Canada but affects the entire Western world, is an historical fact unrelated to the vagaries of a passing economic downturn, as some past declines have been. Analysing the causes of this deep-rooted change and describing the forces at work requires a multi-disciplinary approach, which is outside the bounds of a status report. Thus, the focus here is exclusively on quantitative analysis of the changes in the immediate past.

## A Low Level on the Decline

Fertility in Canada fell below the replacement level (total fertility rate of 2.1 children per woman) in 1971 and has continued to decline steadily over the past 10 years (Chart VI). The rate may occasionally remain below the replacement level for several years in a row, but this does not necessarily spell depopulation: the women of a given cohort may simply have postponed childbearing until a later age, at which time they will catch up and bear enough, or even more than enough, daughters to replace themselves by the end of their reproductive years.

However, such is not the case at present: the rate has remained below the replacement level for each of the past 10 years and there is serious doubt that some cohorts will be able to catch up sufficiently before age 50 to ensure their replacement.

Under such conditions, disregarding the potential effects of migration, this decline in natality signals the beginning of depopulation. Canada is not the only country facing this problem (Table 30).

## Postponing Children?

The overall drop in fertility is a consequence of downturns in almost all age-specific fertility rates (Chart VI).

Since 1971, there has been an almost unbroken downward trend in fertility rates for all ages up to 28, which, experience has shown, are the ages at which women are generally most fertile.

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[10] Frequent use will be made of this index multiplied by 1,000 to denote the number of children born per 1,000 women. For a more detailed explanation, see *Fertility in Canada, From Baby-boom to Baby-bust*, another publication in the series: *Current Demographic Analysis (forthcoming)*.

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Chart VIA
**Age-Specific Fertility Rate (per 1,000) Canada, 1971-1982**
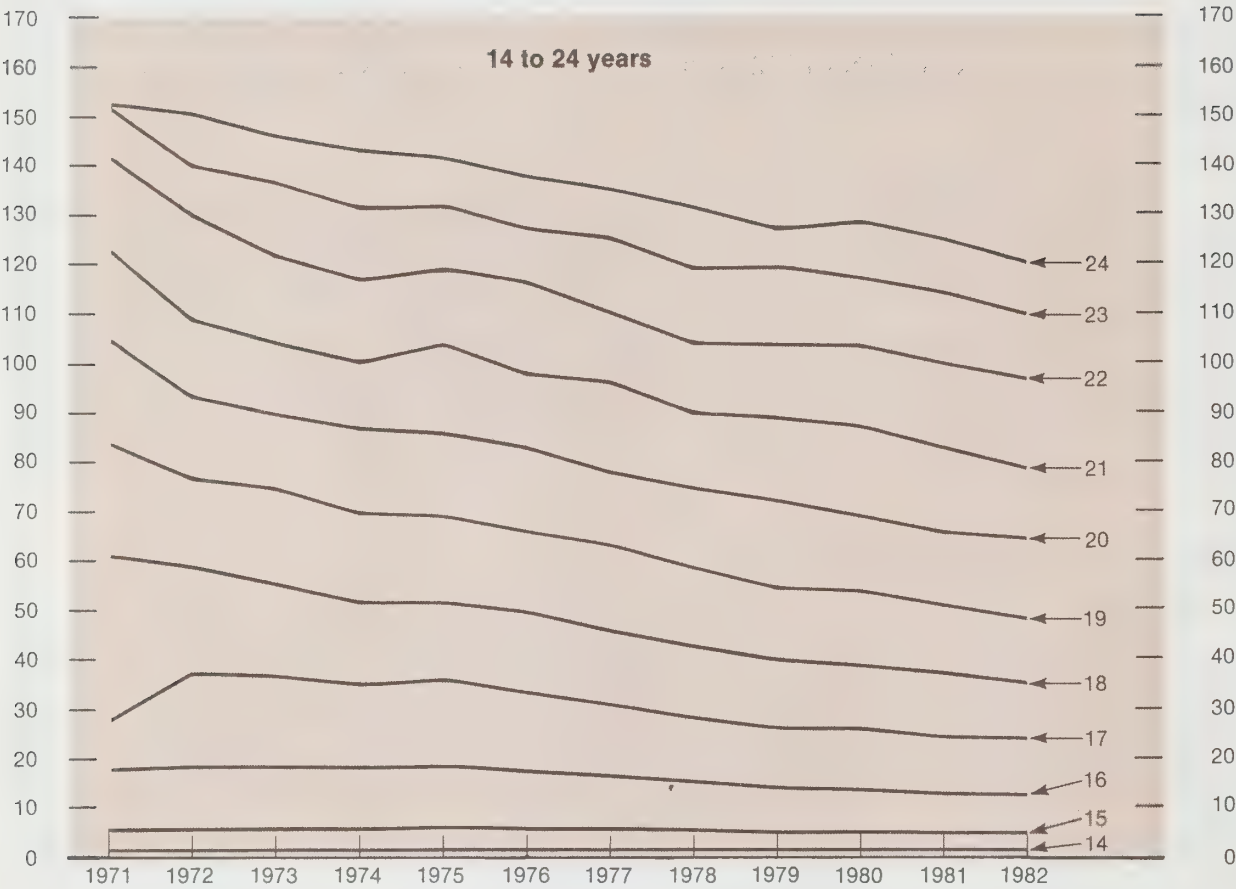


Source: Table 51 in appendix.

– In the past few years, the downward curve between ages 28 and 36 has levell-
ed off or even turned upward slightly. For instance, the rates at age 29,
30 and 31 were a little higher in 1981 than in 1974. However, the correspon-
ding rates for 1982 do not seem to confirm this upswing; with one excep-
tion, they were all lower than the 1981 levels (Table 51).

– After age 36, the rates, though already very low, continued to fall, but at
an increasingly slow pace.

Consequently, the overall decline stems primarily from decreasing fertility
at the younger ages. Although a very slight increase was observed at about
age 30, fertility levels in these two age groups are quite different and the up-
turn among women in their thirties offset only a minute portion of the
downward trend among younger females.

## Smaller Families

The changes in the age-specific rates are related to a reduction in family
size and an increase in the age at which women begin having children.

**Chart VIB**
**Age-Specific Fertility Rate (per 1,000) Canada, 1971-1982**

25 to 40 years
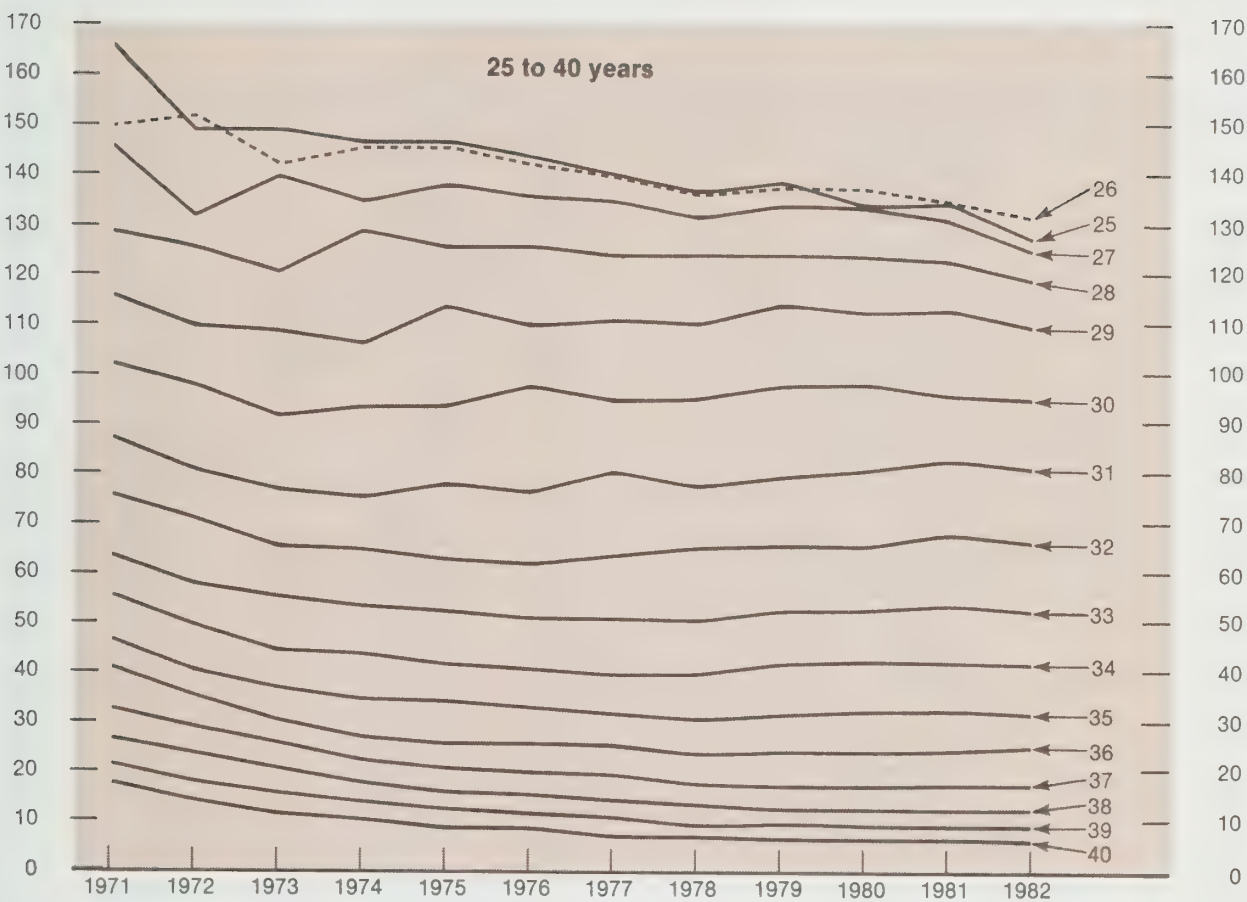
Source: Table 51 in appendix.

Although it is impossible, in this brief analysis, to examine the changes in cohort fertility, annual data may provide some indication of alterations in family structure.

Prior to 1976, the sharp drop in high-order births (Table 31), which generally involve relatively old mothers, caused slight annual declines in the average age of women at the birth of their children (Table 32). While this factor previously overshadowed the upward trend in the average age of women at the birth of their first child, since 1976 the steady increase in the proportion of first-order births has predominated, raising the average age.

There is a temptation to link this increase in age at the birth of the first child with the rise in age at first marriage and with the spread of cohabitation among young people, a situation that has so far been less conducive than marriage to childbearing, especially at an early age.

Between 1971 and 1981, age of mother and birth order have combined to push fertility down to the observed level. The total rate dipped from 2,187 in 1971 to 1,700 in 1981, a decrease of 487 births (or 22%) over ten years for the fictitious cohort.

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## TABLE 30. Recent Total Fertility Rates for Selected Industrialized Countries

| Country | Year | Rate |
|---|---|---|
| Austria | 1979 | 1.62 |
| | 1980 | 1.67 |
| Belgium | 1978 | 1.64 |
| Denmark | 1980 | 1.55 |
| Finland | 1980 | 1.63 |
| France | 1976 | 1.79 |
| | 1980 | 1.96 |
| German Democratic | 1974 | 1.53 |
| Republic | 1980 | 1.94 |
| Germany, Federal Rep of. | 1979 | 1.38 |
| | 1980 | 1.44 |
| Italy | 1978 | 1.83 |
| Netherlands | 1979 | 1.53 |
| Norway | 1980 | 1.71 |
| Sweden | 1978 | 1.57 |
| | 1980 | 1.65 |
| Switzerland | 1978 | 1.45 |
| | 1979 | 1.46 |
| England and Wales | 1976 | 1.71 |
| | 1979 | 1.85 |
| Scotland | 1971 | 1.75 |
| | 1980 | 1.83 |
| Canada | 1982 | 1.69 |

Source: *United Nations Demographic Yearbook*, 1981.

## TABLE 31. Percentage Distribution of Annual Births by Birth Order, Canada, 1971 - 1982

| Year | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 + | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1971 | 40.6 | 29.3 | 14.9 | 7.0 | 3.4 | 1.9 | 1.0 | 0.7 | 1.2 | 100 |
| 1972 | 41.9 | 30.9 | 14.3 | 6.2 | 2.8 | 1.5 | 0.8 | 0.5 | 1.1 | 100 |
| 1973 | 43.4 | 32.3 | 13.7 | 5.4 | 2.3 | 1.2 | 0.7 | 0.4 | 0.7 | 100 |
| 1974 | 44.4 | 33.4 | 13.5 | 4.9 | 1.9 | 0.9 | 0.5 | 0.3 | 0.5 | 100 |
| 1975 | 43.8 | 33.9 | 13.9 | 4.8 | 1.7 | 0.8 | 0.4 | 0.3 | 0.4 | 100 |
| 1976 | 43.6 | 34.8 | 14.0 | 4.5 | 1.6 | 0.7 | 0.4 | 0.2 | 0.2 | 100 |
| 1977 | 44.7 | 34.2 | 13.9 | 4.1 | 1.3 | 0.6 | 0.3 | 0.2 | 0.7 | 100 |
| 1978 | 44.8 | 34.7 | 13.8 | 4.1 | 1.3 | 0.5 | 0.3 | 0.1 | 0.4 | 100 |
| 1979 | 44.6 | 34.7 | 14.4 | 4.0 | 1.2 | 0.5 | 0.2 | 0.1 | 0.3 | 100 |
| 1980 | 45.2 | 34.5 | 14.1 | 4.0 | 1.1 | 0.4 | 0.2 | 0.1 | 0.4 | 100 |
| 1981 | 45.4 | 34.5 | 14.0 | 4.0 | 1.2 | 0.4 | 0.2 | 0.1 | 0.2 | 100 |
| 1982 | 45.4 | 34.3 | 14.1 | 4.1 | 1.2 | 0.4 | 0.2 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 100 |

Source: Statistics Canada, *Vital Statistics, Vol. I, Births and Deaths*, Catalogue No. 84-204, Annual. Births whose order was not specified were broken down before the calculations were made.

Over the years, taking all women in their reproductive years, certain ages and parities have been more involved than others for the downward trend (Table 33), although the decline has affected all birth orders (right-hand column) and all age ranges (bottom row).

Third- and higher-order fertility has decreased among women in all age ranges. In 1971, it accounted for 34% of the total rate; by 1981, the proportion had dropped to 21%.

While first- and second-order fertility shrank among women under age 25, it increased at the higher ages, particularly in the 25-34 group. Still, that increase failed to offset the decline among the first group.

These observations reinforce earlier ones. There was an appreciable drop in the number of women having three or more children and a slight rise in fertility after age 25. The fact that first- and second-order births are occurring at a later age confirms the effect of delaying marriage and childbearing.

**TABLE 32. Mean Age of Mother at Birth of Children of All Orders and First Order, Canada, 1971 - 1982**

| Year | Mean age of women at childbirth | Mean age of women at birth of first child |
|---|---|---|
| 1971 | 26.17 | 23.28 |
| 1972 | 26.05 | 23.42 |
| 1973 | 25.96 | 23.54 |
| 1974 | 25.98 | 23.73 |
| 1975 | 25.95 | 23.78 |
| 1976 | 26.03 | 23.91 |
| 1977 | 26.12 | 24.09 |
| 1978 | 26.20 | 24.30 |
| 1979 | 26.40 | 24.40 |
| 1980 | 26.50 | 24.60 |
| 1981 | 26.60 | 24.80 |
| 1982 | 26.70 | 24.90 |

**Source:** Statistics Canada, based on data from *Vital Statistics, Vol. I, Births and Deaths*, Catalogue No. 84-204, Annual.

**TABLE 33. Contribution by Age of Mother and Birth Order of Children to Total Fertility Rate, Canada, 1971 - 1981**

| Birth order | Age of mother | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Under 25 | 25 - 34 yrs. | 35 - 39 yrs. | All ages |
| 1 or 2 | − 216.7 | + 107.8 | + 3.3 | − 105.6 |
| 3 or more | − 45.7 | − 224.6 | − 111.6 | − 381.3 |
| All orders | − 262.4 | − 116.8 | − 107.7 | − 486.9 |

**Source:** Statistics Canada, based on data from *Vital Statistics, Vol. I, Births and Deaths*, Catalogue No. 84-204, Annual.

## What's in Store?

There is good reason to ponder the future course of fertility and natality since these demographic phenomena have critical social and economic implications. A theory currently enjoying some favour contends that fertility is subject to a cyclical pattern involving the alternation of large Malthusian-minded cohorts and small cohorts intent on having children.[11]

Should this theory prove correct, there is every reason to believe that fertility will rise sharply one day. But will that day come soon? The rates of some countries with lower fertility than Canada have recently shown signs of a slight upturn (Table 30). It is difficult at present to interpret these signs as a genuine increase in fertility. Surveys conducted in Quebec[12] on the childbearing intentions of women and couples give no indication that a trend towards higher birth rates is about to emerge in Canada, assuming, of course, that Quebec women are not too different from Canadian women as a whole.

Pending the results of a recently launched national survey, trend projections, fraught with uncertainty as they are, give no hint of impending changes in fertility patterns anywhere in Canada. Lacking further information, we can only predict a continued decline in fertility and corresponding reduction in average family size.

Lastly, the application of projected fertility rates to female population projections yields some idea of the number of births to be expected over the next few years (Tables 34 and 35). Under the combined influence of lower fertility

[11] Easterlin, R.A., What will 1984 be like? Socio-economic implications of recent shifts in age structure, *Demography*, Vol. 15, No. 4, November 1978.

[12] Lapierre-Adamcyk, Evelyne, Les aspirations des Québécois en matière de fécondité en 1980, *Cahiers québécois de démographie*, Vol. 10, No. 2, August 1981, pp. 171-188.

**TABLE 34. Age-specific Fertility Rates for Women of All Marital Statuses and Total Fertility Rates, Actual and Projected, Canada, 1971 - 1986**

| Year | Age group | | | | | | | Total rate |
| | 15 - 19 | 20 - 24 | 25 - 29 | 30 - 34 | 35 - 39 | 40 - 44 | 45 - 49 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1971 | 40.1 | 134.4 | 142.0 | 77.3 | 33.6 | 9.4 | 0.6 | 2187 |
| 1972 | 38.5 | 119.8 | 137.1 | 72.1 | 28.9 | 7.8 | 0.6 | 2024 |
| 1973 | 37.2 | 117.7 | 131.6 | 67.1 | 25.7 | 6.4 | 0.4 | 1931 |
| 1974 | 35.3 | 113.1 | 131.1 | 66.6 | 23.0 | 5.5 | 0.4 | 1875 |
| 1975 | 35.3 | 112.7 | 131.2 | 64.4 | 21.6 | 4.8 | 0.4 | 1852 |
| 1976 | 33.4 | 110.3 | 129.9 | 65.6 | 21.1 | 4.3 | 0.3 | 1825 |
| 1977 | 32.0 | 108.0 | 129.8 | 67.1 | 20.5 | 3.6 | 0.3 | 1806 |
| 1978 | 29.7 | 103.1 | 128.1 | 67.1 | 19.5 | 3.6 | 0.3 | 1757 |
| 1979 | 27.9 | 101.8 | 130.8 | 69.1 | 19.5 | 3.4 | 0.2 | 1764 |
| 1980 | 27.6 | 100.1 | 129.4 | 69.3 | 19.4 | 3.1 | 0.2 | 1746 |
| 1981 | 26.4 | 96.7 | 126.9 | 68.0 | 19.4 | 3.2 | 0.2 | 1704 |
| 1982 | 26.5 | 95.4 | 124.7 | 68.6 | 20.2 | 3.1 | 0.2 | 1694 |
| 1983 | 25.7 | 90.0 | 125.2 | 69.0 | 19.2 | 3.1 | 0.2 | 1662 |
| 1984[1] | 25.2 | 87.2 | 124.4 | 69.2 | 19.1 | 3.0 | 0.2 | 1642 |
| 1985[1] | 24.8 | 84.5 | 123.5 | 69.3 | 19.0 | 3.0 | 0.1 | 1621 |
| 1986[1] | 24.4 | 81.7 | 122.6 | 69.4 | 18.9 | 3.0 | 0.1 | 1600 |

[1] Calculated by extending trends.

**Source:** Statistics Canada, based on data from *Vital Statistics, Vol. I, Births and Deaths*, Catalogue No. 84-204, Annual.

rates and smaller numbers of females under age 25, the number of births will probably begin to fall, entailing a reduction in the birth rate that is likely to last for some time.

**TABLE 35. Female Population Estimates and Projections (in Thousands) and Projected Births, Canada, 1983 - 1986**

| Year | Age group | | | | | | | Births |
|------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|--------|
| | 15 - 19 | 20 - 24 | 25 - 29 | 30 - 34 | 35 - 39 | 40 - 44 | 45 - 49 | |
| 1983 | 1,048.5 | 1,186.6 | 1,145.7 | 1,038.2 | 911.3 | 717.6 | 621.2 | 368,680 |
| 1984 (projection) | 1,002.1 | 1,188.1 | 1,153.9 | 1,050.9 | 943.4 | 742.7 | 630.2 | 365,482 |
| 1985 (projection) | 965.1 | 1,181.5 | 1,166.9 | 1,076.0 | 979.8 | 769.8 | 640.8 | 363,383 |
| 1986 (projection) | 946.6 | 1,154.8 | 1,185.8 | 1,094.4 | 1,010.5 | 799.7 | 656.5 | 360,308 |

**Source:** Statistics Canada, unpublished data.

# MORTALITY[13]

The crude death rate has maintained a steady downward trend, falling from 7.3 per 1,000 in 1972 to 6.9 in 1982. These very low rates can be expected to rise in future since the age structure will change as the proportion of elderly people gradually increases.

[13] The life tables for 1980-81-82 were still preliminary at the time of writting.

**TABLE 36A. Comparative Life Tables for Males, 1975 - 76 - 77 and 1980 - 81 - 82[1] – Male (Compressed)**

| Age | Year | $Q_\chi$ | $P_\chi$ | $d_\chi$ | $i_\chi$ | $L_\chi$ | $T_\chi$ | $e_\chi$ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 0 | 1981 | 0.01092 | 0.98908 | 1,092 | 100,000 | 99,045 | 7,187,434 | 71.87 |
|  | 1976 | 0.01481 | 0.98519 | 1,481 | 100,000 | 98,693 | 7,018,551 | 70.19 |
| 1 | 1981 | 0.00238 | 0.99762 | 235 | 98,908 | 395,097 | 7,088,389 | 71.67 |
|  | 1976 | 0.00314 | 0.99686 | 310 | 98,519 | 393,348 | 6,919,858 | 70.24 |
| 5 | 1981 | 0.00131 | 0.99869 | 129 | 98,673 | 492,994 | 6,693,292 | 67.83 |
|  | 1976 | 0.00171 | 0.99829 | 168 | 98,209 | 490,569 | 6,526,510 | 66.46 |
| 10 | 1981 | 0.00202 | 0.99798 | 199 | 98,544 | 492,338 | 6,200,298 | 62.92 |
|  | 1976 | 0.00233 | 0.99767 | 228 | 98,041 | 489,760 | 6,035,941 | 61.57 |
| 15 | 1981 | 0.00617 | 0.99383 | 607 | 98,345 | 490,341 | 5,707,960 | 58.04 |
|  | 1976 | 0.00721 | 0.99279 | 705 | 97,813 | 487,465 | 5,546,181 | 56.70 |
| 20 | 1981 | 0.00777 | 0.99223 | 759 | 97,738 | 486,792 | 5,217,619 | 53.38 |
|  | 1976 | 0.00912 | 0.99088 | 886 | 97,108 | 483,308 | 5,058,716 | 52.09 |
| 25 | 1981 | 0.00697 | 0.99303 | 676 | 96,979 | 483,169 | 4,730,827 | 48.78 |
|  | 1976 | 0.00761 | 0.99239 | 732 | 96,222 | 479,233 | 4,575,408 | 47.55 |
| 30 | 1981 | 0.00679 | 0.99321 | 654 | 96,303 | 479,910 | 4,247,658 | 44.11 |
|  | 1976 | 0.00779 | 0.99221 | 743 | 95,490 | 475,648 | 4,096,175 | 42.90 |
| 35 | 1981 | 0.00881 | 0.99119 | 843 | 95,649 | 476,259 | 3,767,748 | 39.39 |
|  | 1976 | 0.01061 | 0.98939 | 1,005 | 94,747 | 471,378 | 3,620,527 | 38.21 |
| 40 | 1981 | 0.01366 | 0.98634 | 1,295 | 94,806 | 471,046 | 3,291,489 | 34.72 |
|  | 1976 | 0.01655 | 0.98345 | 1,551 | 93,742 | 465,131 | 3,149,149 | 33.59 |
| 45 | 1981 | 0.02306 | 0.97694 | 2,156 | 93,511 | 462,600 | 2,820,443 | 30.16 |
|  | 1976 | 0.02739 | 0.97261 | 2,525 | 92,191 | 455,115 | 2,684,018 | 29.11 |
| 50 | 1981 | 0.03812 | 0.96188 | 3,482 | 91,355 | 448,707 | 2,357,843 | 25.81 |
|  | 1976 | 0.04396 | 0.95604 | 3,942 | 89,666 | 439,159 | 2,228,903 | 24.86 |
| 55 | 1981 | 0.06087 | 0.93913 | 5,349 | 87,873 | 426,858 | 1,909,136 | 21.73 |
|  | 1976 | 0.06930 | 0.93070 | 5,940 | 85,724 | 414,678 | 1,789,744 | 20.88 |
| 60 | 1981 | 0.09459 | 0.90541 | 7,806 | 82,524 | 394,224 | 1,482,278 | 17.96 |
|  | 1976 | 0.10527 | 0.89473 | 8,395 | 79,784 | 378,982 | 1,375,066 | 17.23 |
| 65 | 1981 | 0.14403 | 0.85597 | 10,762 | 74,718 | 347,889 | 1,088,054 | 14.56 |
|  | 1976 | 0.15583 | 0.84417 | 11,124 | 71,385 | 330,255 | 996,084 | 13.95 |
| 70 | 1981 | 0.21194 | 0.78806 | 13,555 | 63,956 | 286,930 | 749,165 | 11.57 |
|  | 1976 | 0.22783 | 0.77217 | 13,729 | 60,261 | 267,854 | 665,829 | 11.05 |
| 75 | 1981 | 0.30616 | 0.69384 | 15,431 | 50,401 | 213,823 | 453,235 | 8.99 |
|  | 1976 | 0.32358 | 0.67642 | 15,057 | 46,532 | 195,205 | 397,975 | 8.55 |
| 80 | 1981 | 0.42722 | 0.57278 | 14,940 | 34,970 | 136,677 | 239,412 | 6.85 |
|  | 1976 | 0.45033 | 0.54967 | 14,174 | 31,475 | 121,019 | 202,770 | 6.44 |
| 85 | 1981 | 0.56725 | 0.43275 | 11,362 | 20,030 | 69,799 | 102,735 | 5.13 |
|  | 1976 | 0.60268 | 0.39732 | 10,427 | 17,301 | 58,450 | 81,751 | 4.73 |
| 90 | 1981 | 0.71066 | 0.28934 | 6,160 | 8,668 | 25,903 | 32,936 | 3.80 |
|  | 1976 | 0.75924 | 0.24076 | 5,219 | 6,874 | 19,338 | 23,301 | 3.39 |
| 95 | 1981 | 0.83014 | 0.16986 | 2,082 | 2,508 | 6,167 | 7,033 | 2.80 |
|  | 1976 | 0.88580 | 0.11420 | 1,466 | 1,655 | 3,645 | 3,963 | 2.39 |
| 100 + | 1981 | 1.00000 | 0.00000 | 426 | 426 | 866 | 866 | 2.03 |
|  | 1976 | 1.00000 | 0.00000 | 189 | 189 | 318 | 318 | 1.68 |

[1] Preliminary data.

**Source:** Statistics Canada, based on data from *Life Tables, Canada and Provinces*, Catalogue No. 84-532.

However, the crude death rate is a poor indicator of mortality; it would be wiser to use the statistics charted in the life tables to trace gains in average life expectancy.

The official life-table for 1980-81-82 can be used to assess the changes which have occurred since 1976 (Tables 36A and B).

**TABLE 36B. Comparative Life Tables for Females, 1975 - 76 - 77 and 1980 - 81 - 82[1] – Female (Compressed)**

| Age | Year | $Q_\chi$ | $P_\chi$ | $d_\chi$ | $i_\chi$ | $L_\chi$ | $T_\chi$ | $e_\chi$ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 0 | 1981 | 0.00843 | 0.99157 | 843 | 100,000 | 99,269 | 7,893,578 | 78.94 |
| | 1976 | 0.01192 | 0.98808 | 1,192 | 100,000 | 98,952 | 7,748,123 | 77.48 |
| 1 | 1981 | 0.00183 | 0.99817 | 181 | 99,157 | 396,202 | 7,794,309 | 78.61 |
| | 1976 | 0.00248 | 0.99752 | 245 | 98,808 | 394,635 | 7,649,171 | 77.41 |
| 5 | 1981 | 0.00107 | 0.99893 | 106 | 98,976 | 494,592 | 7,398,107 | 74.75 |
| | 1976 | 0.00144 | 0.99856 | 142 | 98,563 | 492,424 | 7,254,536 | 73.60 |
| 10 | 1981 | 0.00115 | 0.99885 | 114 | 98,870 | 494,094 | 6,903,515 | 69.82 |
| | 1976 | 0.00137 | 0.99863 | 135 | 98,421 | 491,796 | 6,672,112 | 68.71 |
| 15 | 1981 | 0.00215 | 0.99785 | 212 | 98,756 | 493,277 | 6,409,421 | 64.90 |
| | 1976 | 0.00250 | 0.99750 | 246 | 98,286 | 490,845 | 6,270,316 | 63.80 |
| 20 | 1981 | 0.00237 | 0.99763 | 234 | 98,544 | 492,141 | 5,916,144 | 60.04 |
| | 1976 | 0.00270 | 0.99730 | 265 | 98,040 | 489,537 | 5,779,471 | 58.95 |
| 25 | 1981 | 0.00265 | 0.99735 | 261 | 98,310 | 490,912 | 5,424,003 | 55.17 |
| | 1976 | 0.00282 | 0.99718 | 276 | 97,775 | 488,203 | 5,289,934 | 54.10 |
| 30 | 1981 | 0.00323 | 0.99677 | 317 | 98,049 | 489,494 | 4,933,091 | 50.31 |
| | 1976 | 0.00383 | 0.99617 | 373 | 97,499 | 486,621 | 4,801,731 | 49.25 |
| 35 | 1981 | 0.00500 | 0.99500 | 489 | 97,732 | 487,529 | 4,443,597 | 45.47 |
| | 1976 | 0.00586 | 0.99414 | 569 | 97,126 | 484,308 | 4,315,110 | 44.43 |
| 40 | 1981 | 0.00803 | 0.99197 | 781 | 97,243 | 484,408 | 3,956,068 | 40.68 |
| | 1976 | 0.00927 | 0.99073 | 895 | 96,557 | 480,725 | 3,830,802 | 39.67 |
| 45 | 1981 | 0.01275 | 0.98725 | 1,230 | 96,462 | 479,463 | 3,471,660 | 35.99 |
| | 1976 | 0.01503 | 0.98497 | 1,438 | 95,662 | 474,944 | 3,350,077 | 35.02 |
| 50 | 1981 | 0.02030 | 0.97970 | 1,933 | 95,232 | 471,658 | 2,992,197 | 31.42 |
| | 1976 | 0.02196 | 0.97804 | 2,069 | 94,224 | 466,270 | 2,875,133 | 30.51 |
| 55 | 1981 | 0.03114 | 0.96886 | 2,905 | 93,299 | 459,687 | 2,520,539 | 27.02 |
| | 1976 | 0.03367 | 0.96633 | 3,103 | 92,155 | 453,510 | 2,408,863 | 26.14 |
| 60 | 1981 | 0.04740 | 0.95260 | 4,285 | 90,394 | 441,942 | 2,060,852 | 22.80 |
| | 1976 | 0.05131 | 0.94869 | 4,569 | 89,052 | 434,554 | 1,955,353 | 21.96 |
| 65 | 1981 | 0.07388 | 0.92612 | 6,362 | 86,109 | 415,624 | 1,618,910 | 18.80 |
| | 1976 | 0.07995 | 0.92005 | 6,754 | 84,483 | 406,588 | 1,520,799 | 18.00 |
| 70 | 1981 | 0.11553 | 0.88447 | 9,213 | 79,747 | 377,048 | 1,203,286 | 15.09 |
| | 1976 | 0.12656 | 0.87344 | 9,837 | 77,729 | 365,476 | 1,114,211 | 14.33 |
| 75 | 1981 | 0.18410 | 0.81590 | 12,985 | 70,534 | 321,908 | 826,238 | 11.71 |
| | 1976 | 0.20186 | 0.79814 | 13,705 | 67,892 | 306,909 | 748,735 | 11.03 |
| 80 | 1981 | 0.29413 | 0.70587 | 16,927 | 57,549 | 246,753 | 504,330 | 8.76 |
| | 1976 | 0.32240 | 0.67760 | 17,470 | 54,187 | 228,422 | 441,826 | 8.15 |
| 85 | 1981 | 0.44749 | 0.55251 | 18,178 | 40,622 | 157,187 | 257,577 | 6.34 |
| | 1976 | 0.48879 | 0.51121 | 17,947 | 36,717 | 137,799 | 213,404 | 5.81 |
| 90 | 1981 | 0.62707 | 0.37293 | 14,074 | 22,444 | 74,356 | 100,390 | 4.47 |
| | 1976 | 0.67768 | 0.32232 | 12,720 | 18,770 | 59,005 | 75,605 | 4.03 |
| 95 | 1981 | 0.79032 | 0.20968 | 6,615 | 8,370 | 22,339 | 26,034 | 3.11 |
| | 1976 | 0.84132 | 0.15868 | 5,090 | 6,050 | 14,833 | 16,600 | 2.74 |
| 100 + | 1981 | 1.00000 | 1.00000 | 1,755 | 3,695 | 3,695 | 3,695 | 2.11 |
| | 1976 | 1.00000 | 0.00000 | 960 | 960 | 1,767 | 1,767 | 1.84 |

[1] Preliminary data.

**Source:** Statistics Canada, based on data from *Life Tables, Canada and Provinces*, Catalogue No. 84-532.

# Gains in Male Life Expectancy

Comparison of the 1980-82 life table with those of previous years suggests that male life expectancy at birth made more rapid gains over the 1976-81 period than over the preceding five years. [14] Male life expectancy now stands at 71.9 years, compared with 70.2 years in 1976 (Table 37), a gain of 1.7 years.

Until recently, gains in life expectancy were due almost entirely to major advances in the fight against infant mortality; the gains in other age groups were very small indeed. However, there has been a change in the past few years.

Between 1976 and 1981, infant mortality again fell dramatically, as the death rate dropped from 14.8 to 10.9 per 1,000, a sizable improvement of 3.9 per 1,000. The most salient development, however, was the decline in mortality among the advanced age groups. The probability of survival from age 50 to 80 rose from 351 per 1,000 in 1976 to 383 in 1981, a gain of almost 10% and the first improvement of such magnitude. The expectation of life at age 50 gained almost one full year during the period (25.8 years, up from 24.9) (Table 36A). This is 60% of the gain in life expectancy at birth. During the preceding period (1971-76), the modest 0.34 year improvement in life expectancy at age 50 was only 40% of the gain in life expectancy at birth.

[14] And probably over any other five-year period since 1931.

**TABLE 37. Life Expectancy at Birth, Canada, 1931 - 1981**

| Year | Life expectancy at birth Male | Life expectancy at birth Female | Gain M | Gain F |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1931 | 60.00 | 62.10 | | |
| 1941 | 62.96 | 66.30 | 2.96 | 4.20 |
| 1951 | 66.33 | 70.83 | 3.37 | 4.53 |
| 1956 | 67.61 | 72.92 | 1.28 | 2.09 |
| 1961 | 68.35 | 74.17 | .74 | 1.25 |
| 1966 | 68.75 | 75.18 | .40 | 1.01 |
| 1971 | 69.34 | 76.36 | .59 | 1.18 |
| 1976 | 70.19 | 77.48 | .85 | 1.12 |
| 1981[1] | 71.87 | 78.94 | 1.68 | 1.46 |

[1] Preliminary data.

**Source:** Statistics Canada, *Life Tables, Canada and Provinces*, Catalogue No. 84-532.

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## Gains for Women Late in Life

The female population also posted gains during this period; female life expectancy at birth is currently 79.5 years, still much higher than for males. A comparison with 1976 levels shows women gaining 1.46 years and men 1.68 years over the period. Consequently, the gap in life expectancy between the sexes, which in 1976 favoured women by 7.3 years, closed slightly to 7.1 years in 1981.

As with males, mortality rates declined among infants and young children. However, the key contributing factor to longer life expectancy was lower mortality rates among the advanced age groups. There was a noteworthy difference between men and women in this age range: whereas gains among females were small until age 60 and rose sharply thereafter, gains among males climbed appreciably after age 35, dropping slightly in the advanced ages (Table 38).

TABLE 38. Change in Probabilities of Survival from Age 35 to 65 and Age 65 to 90 for Males and Females, Canada, 1976 - 1981

| Probability of survival | 1976 | 1981 | Difference 1976 - 1981 |
|---|---|---|---|
| | percentage | | |
| **From 35 to 65** | | | |
| Female | 86.98 | 88.11 | 1.12 |
| Male | 75.34 | 78.12 | 2.78 |
| **From 65 to 90** | | | |
| Female | 22.22 | 26.07 | 3.85 |
| Male | 9.63 | 11.60 | 1.97 |

Source: Statistics Canada, *Life Tables, Canada and Provinces*, Catalogue No. 84-532.

The longer life expectancy among women over 65 accentuates the aging of the female population from the top down and the increasing numerical imbalance between the sexes in the advanced age groups.

## The Leading Causes of Death between 1971 and 1981

The causes of close to 80% of the deaths currently recorded each year in Canada fall into three groups: cardiovascular diseases, cancers and violent deaths (principally motor vehicle accidents). A brief examination of the changing death rates for these categories over the past 10 years throws some light on the improvements in life expectancy.

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## Cardiovascular Diseases (Table 52)

In the early 1980s, cardiovascular diseases were still the leading cause of death for both sexes, bringing about 44.7% of male deaths and 48.8% of female deaths. Still, the situation has improved considerably since 1971 for what have traditionally been the two principal types of these diseases: ischaemic heart disease and cerebrovascular disease.

## Ischaemic Heart Diseases (Causes 410 to 414)

Of all cardiovascular diseases, ischaemic heart diseases claimed the most victims, 66.5% of male and 54.9% of female deaths from cardiovascular disease. Heart attacks (acute myocardial infarction)[15] alone accounted for 64% of male and 54.3% of female deaths from ischaemic diseases. In other words, 19% (44.7% x 66.5% x 64%) of all male deaths and 14.5% of all female deaths resulted from heart attacks.

The difference between the sexes is even more pronounced when age at death is considered. Of the 18,462 male deaths from heart attacks in 1981, 50% occurred in men under 70. In contrast, only 27.7% of the 10,760 women who died of heart attacks were under 70. In short, not only do fewer women than men die of heart attacks, but those who do are much older on average.

The picture is somewhat different for deaths from cardiac ischaemia other than acute infarction. Of every 100 deaths from these causes, 34 for males and 13 for females, occur before age 70. Here again, males are struck down earlier than females, though in the aggregate these diseases claim their victims later in life than does infarction.

## Cerebrovascular Diseases (Causes 430 to 438)

In 1981, this clearly defined subgroup of cardiovascular diseases lagged fairly far behind coronary diseases as a cause of death (14,844 deaths to 29,222, or less than half).

Despite the impression given by the absolute numbers, which show more deaths among women than among men (8,244 compared with 6,60l), analysis of the death rates reveals that more males are affected than females, regardless of age (Chart IX). People who die of cerebrovascular diseases are generally elderly: 72% of the males and 81% of the females are over 70. At this age, male ranks have already been decimated by other causes of death.

## A Definite Improvement

Notwithstanding the predominance of these causes of death, mortality rates declined substantially between 1971 and 1981 for both sexes, all age groups over 35, and the two major groups of cardiovascular diseases discussed above (Chart VII). Most of the decreases exceeded 20% and some were well over 30%.

---

[15] Cause 410 in the International Classification of Diseases.

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**Chart VII**

## Death Rate From Cardio-vascular Diseases by Age and Sex, Canada, 1971 and 1981

P. 100,000                                                                    P. 100,000



Source: Table 52 in appendix.
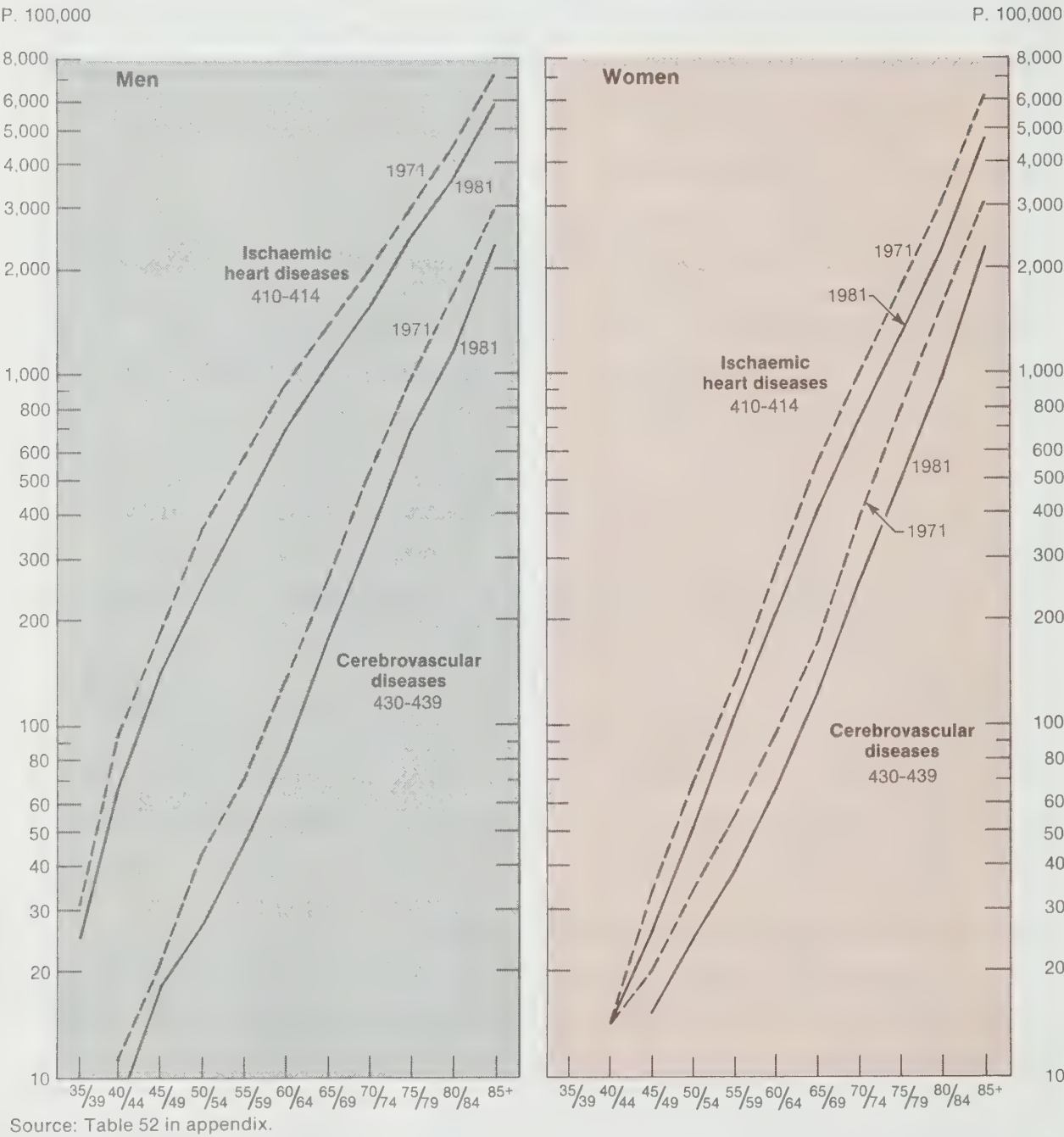
This downswing in death rates at all ages suggests that some "agent" has affected the entire population. In addition to advances in medicine, authoritative medical journals report a reduction in the factors that trigger these diseases; in particular, they cite healthier diets and, first and foremost, a decrease in smoking.[16] These findings are encouraging, albeit somewhat unexpected. Not too long ago, it was still widely believed that the ravages of these diseases would not abate significantly until recent birth cohorts, having taken better care of their life potential, had reached the critical ages.

[16] *New England Journal of Medicine*, 1983, No. 308, pp. 649-651.

## Cancer (Table 53)

While deaths from cardiovascular diseases are clearly on the decline, the same cannot be said for cancer fatalities. Despite the efforts to combat this disease, there has been no change for the better in recent years. Most deaths from cancer occur in the second half of life, during which the risks vary with age: the death rate has fallen somewhat for those under 50, but has increased for those over 50 (Chart VIII).

Table 53 (see appendix), constructed from a series of basic calculations, shows that 14% of male deaths from cancer occurred before age 55, 38.3% between 55 and 69 and 47.7% after 70. Cancer of the respiratory system claimed the most victims; almost 30% of them were under 55 and close to 60%

Chart VIII
### Cancer Death Rate by Age and Sex, Canada, 1971 and 1981
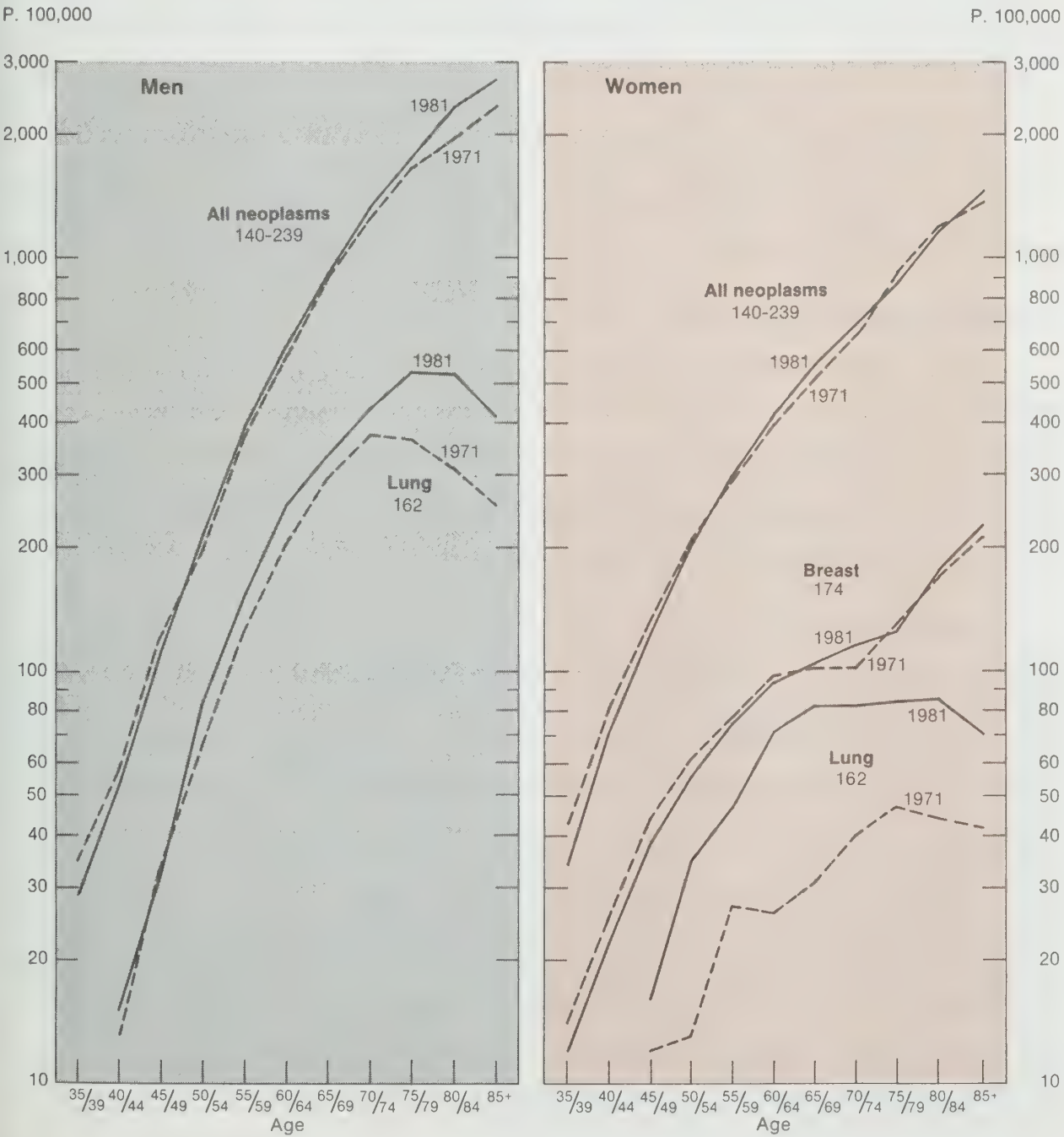


Source: Table 53 in appendix.

were under 70. Cancer of the digestive organs ranked second; only 11.9% of its victims were under 55, compared with 52.7% between 55 and 69. In third place was cancer of the genito-urinary organs, affecting primarily the very old (68.4% of its victims were over 70). Lymph and blood cancers were fourth, but unlike the above forms of the disease, it also strikes young people. Of every 100 persons who died of cancer before age 40, 34 succumbed to lymph or blood cancer.

The distribution of deaths from cancer is somewhat different among the female population. A fairly large proportion of female victims were young; 18% were under 55, compared with only 14% of males. Cancer of the digestive organs claimed the most victims, affecting chiefly elderly women (almost 60% were over 70). Far behind, in second place, was cancer of the connective tissues; 92% of these deaths were due to breast cancer. The largest proportion of victims of this form of cancer were women aged 55 to 69 (38.5%). But younger people were also struck: of every 100 women who die of cancer before age 40, 30 died from cancer of the connective tissues. The proportion between age 40 and 54 was 32%.

Cancer of the respiratory system ranked third. The death rates for this form of cancer have risen considerably in the past 10 years (Chart XI). At the present pace, respiratory cancer will be the most devastating form of the disease by the end of the century.

**Traffic Accidents (Table 54)**

In recent years the general public has become aware of the large number of deaths resulting from motor vehicle accidents and steps have been taken to reduce these deaths, which have demographic as well as social and economic significance. Among these measures are the compulsory use of seat belts in most parts of the country, stricter traffic patrols, lower speed limits and increasingly severe penalties for traffic violations.

The energy crisis, which drove fuel prices up, may have had a number of repercussions. First, it reduced the distances travelled by motorists and hence the risk of accident. Second, it encouraged auto makers to build less powerful cars, which, all other things being equal, are less dangerous. The results can be seen in the traffic accident mortality rates (causes 810-819) presented in Chart IX. Within the space of 10 years, a substantial decline was recorded for both sexes and practically all age groups. The reduction is reflected in both lower numbers and lower rates, leaving no doubt as to its authencity. Remarkably, the downward trend accelerated in 1982. From 1981 to 1982, the standardized mortality rate dropped from 32 to 24 per 100,000 for men and from 11 to 9 per 100,000 for women. Whether or not this trend will persist remains to be seen. If the major changes are attributable to the hard economic times, what does renewed prosperity hold in store? Will it spell a resurgence of traffic accidents and fatalities?

Chart IX
**Traffic Accident Death Rate by Age and Sex, Canada, 1971 and 1981**

P. 100,000

P. 100,000

Men (1971)

Men (1981)

Women (1971)

Women (1981)

Age

## Suicide

Suicide is not a major cause of death in Canada. But as in all Western societies, the tragic nature of this phenomenon attracts attention. The suicide rate is often interpreted as an indicator of a society's mental health.[17]

Official figures put the number of suicides at 3,358 in 1980, compared with 3,403 in 1981 and 3,523 in 1982.[18] These are large numbers in themselves, but to establish an exact rate, they must be divided by 100,000.[19] In any case, the term "epidemic" sometimes used to describe the growth in this cause of death seems exaggerated. While it is true that the increase was very sharp in comparison with the situation in the 1950s (Chart X), no striking changes were

[17] A more complete analysis may be found in *Mortality in Canada in the Late 1970s*, a publication in the same series (forthcoming).

[18] Measuring suicide mortality is a difficult task because the exact number of cases is unknown. While some violent deaths are open to suspicion, there is no hard evidence to class them as suicides.

[19] Since age-specific suicide figures are so small, the average number of cases over a two-year period was used in calculating the rates. This prevents errors due to completely random variations.

Chart X

**Suicide Death Rate by Age and Sex, Canada, 1950, 1976 and 1981**

P. 100,000
50

Men

P. 100,000
50
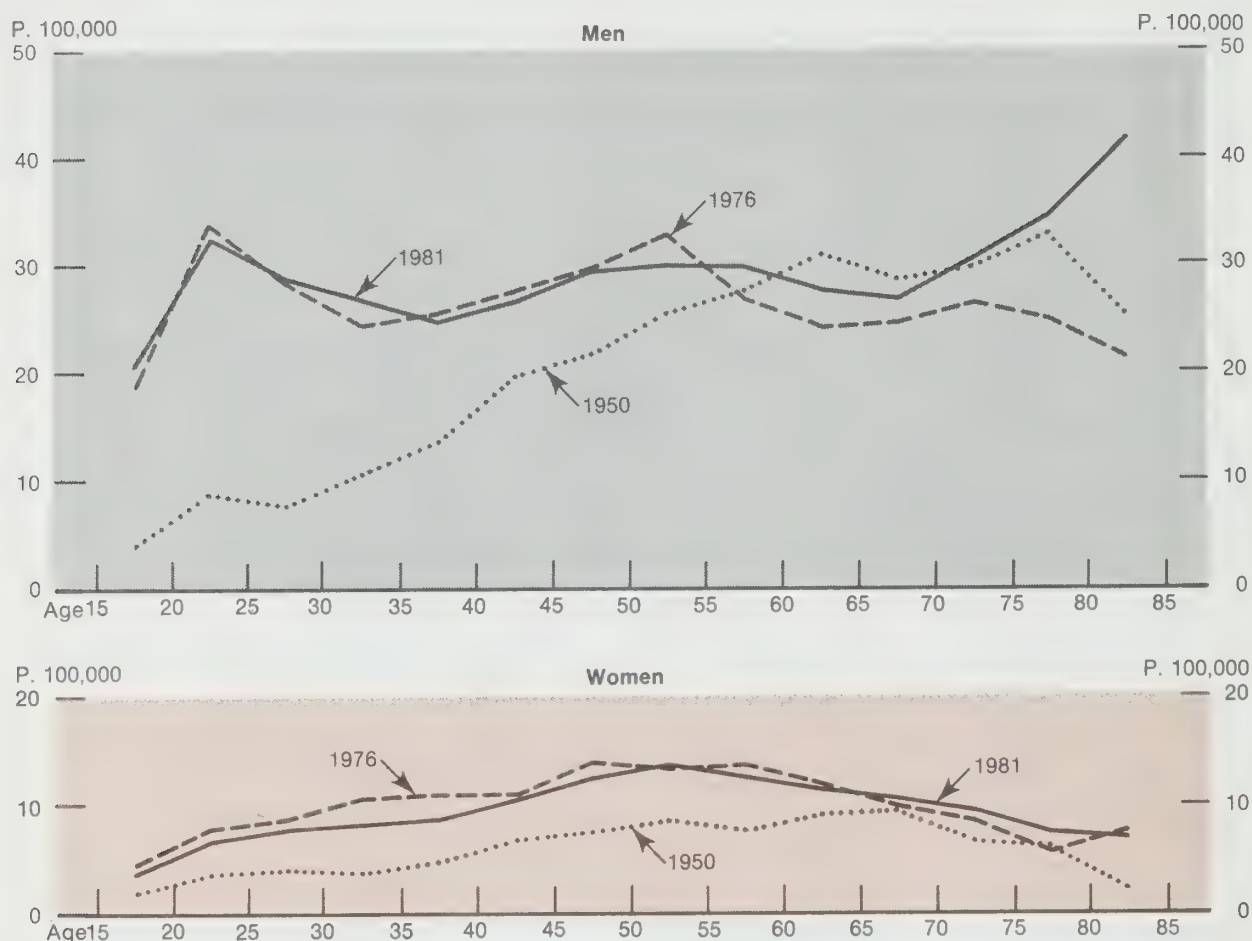


Source: Table 46 in appendix.

recorded from the mid-1970s (1975-76) to the early 1980s (1980-81). It would even appear that the upward trend of suicide among young people, a source of grave public concern, has stalled. While the picture is not entirely clear for males, there is less doubt as regards females, among whom the rates are dropping. Though differences in the rates over such a short period may be random, there nonetheless appears to have been a slight shift in them, as the rates are up among advanced age groups. However, the figures for 1982 provide no further information.

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In sum, the record of improvements in mortality over the past few years is encouraging, since life expectancy at birth increased substantially for both sexes. Various causes contributed to the decline in the number of deaths, but much of the progress was due to the reduction in deaths from cardiovascular diseases. Cancer, on the other hand, continues to be a medical stumbling block. Life expectancy for both sexes continues to rise, but the gains are now concentrated in the advanced age groups.

# INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

Legal immigration is subject to strict accounting in Canada. Unfortunately, there is no data collection system designed to ascertain the numbers and demographic characteristics of emigrants; at present, emigration estimates are obtained using a residual method of calculation based on incomplete data.

## The Recent Immigration Picture

In recent years, Canada has admitted an average of about 150,000 immigrants annually. This means that a city roughly the size of Regina would be added to the population each year provided there was no emigration. But major fluctuations have occurred in particular years, for instance 282,000 immigrants in 1957 and 219,000 in 1974, compared with 71,000 in 1961 and 74,000 in 1962. Programs to legalize the status of illegal immigrants, put into effect several times over the years,[20] contributed to some sudden increases in immigration statistics. However, the main factor in these rapid and sudden fluctuations has been changes in federal immigration policy. Canada's appeal abroad is no longer as unconditional as it once was. Conflicting with the interest which many foreigners have in immigrating to this country are humanitarian obligations to admit persons such as refugees. Furthermore, the domestic economic situation plays an increasingly decisive part in the granting of entry visas.

The classification and definition of types of immigrants have changed frequently in the past, but aside from differences in terminology, the basic principles underlying immigration policy remain quite stable.

Viewed somewhat simplistically, there are two classes of immigrants to Canada (see diagram).

(1) One class comprises immigrants who are allowed entry without having been sponsored, nominated or otherwise designated. The bulk of these immigrants intend to enter the labour force (selected workers, entrepreneurs, self-employed persons, etc.).

(2) The other class comprises immigrants who are admitted by special authority or who meet the less stringent criteria for convention refugees and persons in designated classes.

The influx of immigrants in the first group is basically a function of the economic situation at any given time. Members of the second group, a large portion of whom are also destined to enter the labour market, are admitted on other grounds.

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[20] 1966, 1972 and 1973.

**TABLE 39. Immigration to Canada by Major Classes, 1980, 1981 and 1982**

| | 1980 | | 1981 | | 1982 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Number | Per-centage | Number | Per-centage | Number | Per-centage |
| Family class | 51,027 | 35.7 | 51,017 | 39.7 | 49,963 | 41.3 |
| Refugees and persons in designated classes | 40,348 | 28.2 | 14,979 | 11.6 | 16,902 | 14.0 |
| Refugees | 952 | 0.7 | 810 | 0.6 | 1,789 | 1.5 |
| Persons in designated classes | 39,396 | 27.5 | 14,169 | 11.0 | 15,113 | 12.5 |
| Independent Immigrants | 51,742 | 36.2 | 62,622 | 48.7 | 54,222 | 44.8 |
| **Total** | **143,117** | **100.0** | **128,618** | **100.0** | **121,087** | **100.0** |

\* Preliminary data.
**Source:** Employment and Immigration Canada, based on data from *Immigration Statistics,* ISSN 0576-2286, Annual.

In the latter group, the number of immigrants belonging to the family class depends on the number of applications filed in Canada to sponsor immediate family members residing in other countries. It is undoubtedly for this reason that figures in this class have been fairly constant (about 50,000) since 1977, even though the total number of immigrants has fluctuated (Tables 39 and 56). Immigration figures for the refugee and designated classes vary with the political situation and its impact on statutes and regulations. Since 1974, the numbers of refugees and designated persons have ranged from less than 2,000 to over 40,000 because of the wars in Cambodia and Vietnam (Chart XI). If the total number of immigrants were held fixed, the independent immigrant class would fluctuate the most widely as a result of shifts in the other two categories. In actual fact, immigration policy is not that rigid, and there are no such drastic variations in the first class from one year to the next.

In the new Immigration Act of 1978, the federal government set admission levels for the next three years. These levels were based on an assessment of the country's capacity to absorb new immigrants and on consultations with the provinces and non-governmental organizations. These forecasts are to be adjusted annually and tabled in Parliament each November 1.

The annual report on immigration levels for 1984, tabled on November 1, 1983, stated that, in view of the unemployment rate and the economic recession, it would be appropriate to reduce previously projected levels for 1984 and 1985 to protect job opportunities for Canadians.[21] The cut-backs announced were as follows: in 1984, 90,000 to 95,000 immigrants, instead of

[21] *Annual Report to Parliament on Future Immigration Levels*, tabled November 1, 1983, Cat. MP-22-8-1983.

115,000 to 125,000, and in 1985, 100,000 to 110,000, instead of 120,000 to 135,000. The report also set the 1986 level at 105,000 to 120,000 immigrants. This was the second time that the 1984 and 1985 levels had been revised downward.

The report further stated that the government would sponsor 10,000 refugees in 1984, plus a further 2,000 if necessary. Over and above this figure would be the refugees sponsored by the private sector. The number of selected workers to be admitted in 1984 was revised to between 6,000 and 8,000, down from the previously announced 8,000 to 10,000. The number of family-class immigrants was to remain stable for the planning period at about 50,000 per year.

Chart XI
**Immigrants to Canada by Major Categories, 1972-1982**
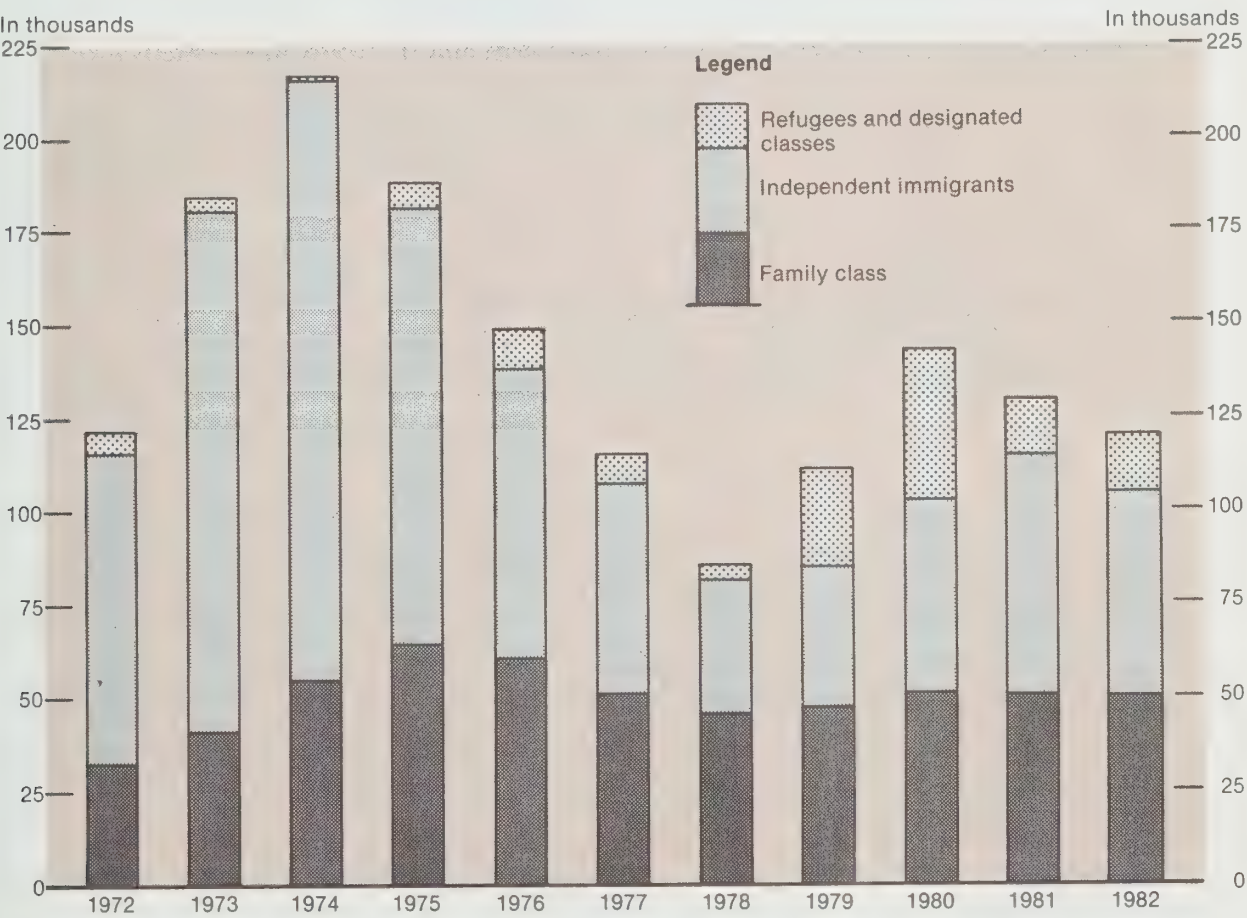


Source: Table 47b in appendix.

# Origin of Immigrants

## Preliminary Remarks

The term "origin" is ambiguous; depending on the circumstances, it may designate the country of origin at the time of entry into Canada (the country of last permanent residence), or it may refer to the immigrant's country of

birth. For some time now, the Department of Immigration's Statistics Division has published a detailed accounting by country of last permanent residence.

A survey aimed at assessing the relationship between country of last permanent residence and country of birth was conducted among immigrants from 48 foreign countries admitted in 1980. In 89% of the cases considered, the two countries were found to be the same. Since country of birth is a more effective indicator of the ethnic composition of the immigrant population, it should be used as the classification variable. Furthermore, most available information covering recent years has been broken down on this basis.

Selected Workers

Assisted Relatives and Independent Immigrants

Others Assisted Relatives and Independent Immigrants

Independent Immigrants

Entrepreneurs

Other

Self-employed persons

Retirees

All Immigrants

Refugees and Designated Classes

Convention Refugees

Family Class

Designated Classes
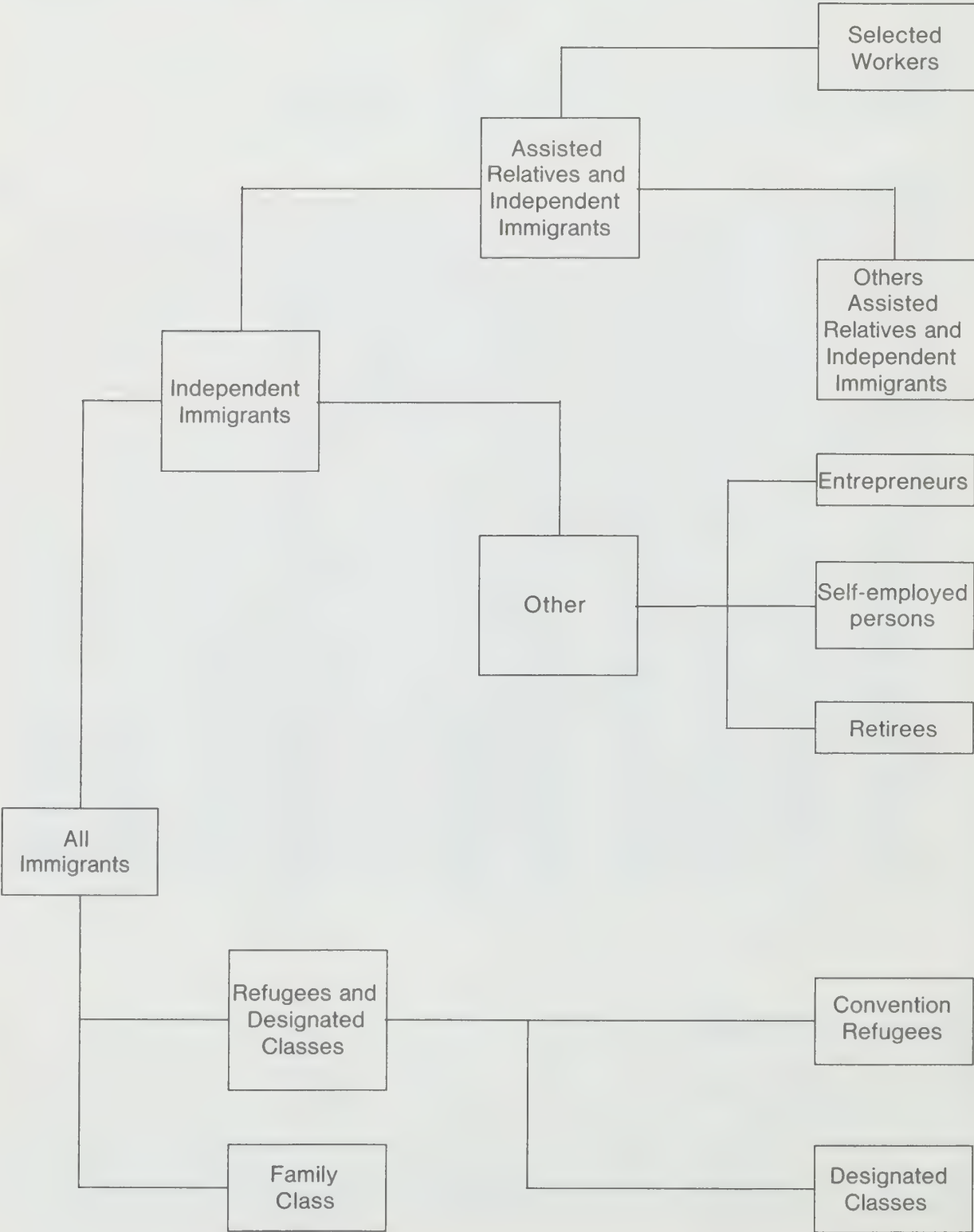
## Fewer Europeans, More Asians

Traditionally, the majority of immigrants to Canada were from the United States and Northern Europe, led by Anglo-Saxons from Great Britain. More recently (since 1968), the immigration pattern has become more diverse and there have been years in which Canada opened its doors to citizens of war-torn countries (Table 57).

In 1968, 65% of all immigrants were Europeans and 10% were Americans. Thus, other countries accounted for only 25% of immigrants. In 1977, a year in which there was no special admission policy, only 35% were Europeans and 11% Americans; the majority of immigrants, about 56%, were from other countries. Asian countries were chiefly responsible for diversification of the immigration pattern; during the same sample (1977), Canada admitted close to 35,000 Asians, 29% of total immigration, whereas in 1968, fewer than 10,000 Asians entered the country, representing only 13% of the total.

Apart from sudden influxes stemming from major international political events, there were no other substantial changes in the origin of immigrants in the 12 years under review. Excluding the large numbers of Vietnamese, Laotians and Kampucheans, immigration in 1980 was sufficiently diverse that the top ten suppliers accounted for only 60% of the 109,000 total. Of these ten countries, Great Britain was by far the leader, with 11.5% (though this percentage is only half what it was in 1968). By way of comparison, in 1968 Great Britain, Italy and the United States together supplied 40% of Canada's immigrants. The number of arrivals from Africa and the West Indies was about the same in 1980 as in 1968. Australia contributed fewer immigrants, South America provided slightly more.

## Special Programs

A number of special immigration programs were implemented during the period in question. The most recent was in 1979-80, when Canada admitted over 34,000 Vietnamese, Laotian and Kampuchean nationals. Between 1973 and 1976, there was an exceptional influx of West Indians, mainly Jamaicans and Haitians, up to three times the 1980 level. From 1972 to 1976, Uganda and Tanzania were major sources. Lastly, the number of immigrants from South America was substantially higher between 1973 and 1976 than in the years immediately before and after.

## Structure of the Immigrant Population

### Age and Sex

The immigrant population was once characterized by a fairly high proportion of males, but that pattern changed quite a while ago. In seven of the 10 years from 1971 to 1980, the sex ratio (number of males per 100 females) was less than one hundred. Figures for the entire period show a slight predominance of female immigrants, although not enough to be considered an imbalance (Table 40).

**TABLE 40. Sex Distribution (All Ages Combined), Sex Ratio and Mean Age of Immigrants, Canada, 1970 - 1980**

| Year | Male | Female | Sex ratio | Mean age | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | Male | Female |
| 1970 | 74,257 | 73,456 | 1.011 | 25.46 | 26.29 |
| 1971 | 60,445 | 61,455 | .984 | 25.74 | 26.77 |
| 1972 | 60,070 | 61,936 | .970 | 25.69 | 26.73 |
| 1973 | 94,768 | 89,432 | 1.060 | 25.94 | 26.86 |
| 1974 | 111,122 | 107,343 | 1.035 | 25.76 | 26.39 |
| 1975 | 92,683 | 95,198 | .974 | 25.62 | 26.70 |
| 1976 | 72,605 | 76,824 | .945 | 26.79 | 28.31 |
| 1977 | 54,834 | 60,080 | .913 | 27.50 | 29.35 |
| 1978 | 40,057 | 46,256 | .866 | 28.65 | 30.69 |
| 1979 | 54,823 | 57,273 | .957 | 27.94 | 30.04 |
| 1980 | 71,939 | 71,178 | 1.011 | 27.82 | 29.96 |
| **Total** | **787,603** | **800,431** | **.984** | – | – |

Source: Employment and Immigration Canada, *Immigration Statistics,* ISSN 0576-2286, Annual.

Chart XII

**Age and Sex Distribution of 1,000 Immigrants to Canada, 1970 and 1980**
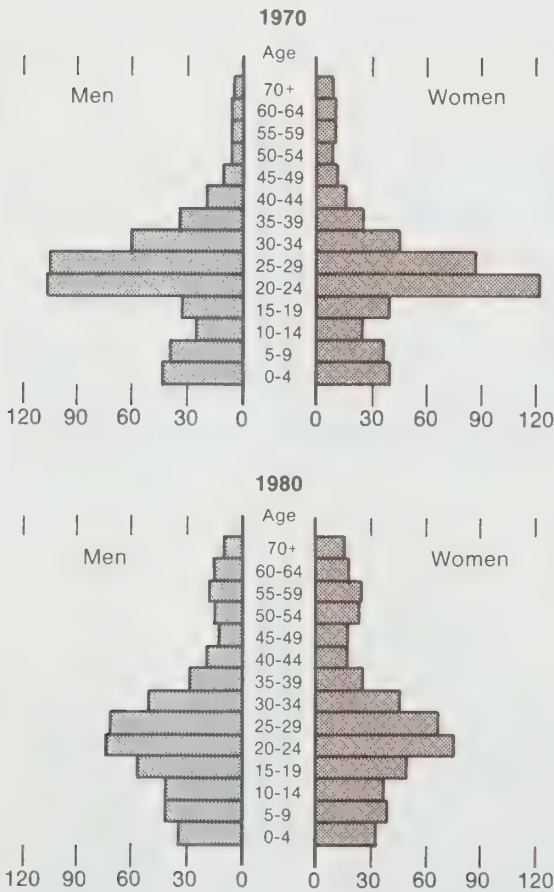


Of greater significance are the changes that occurred in the age structure of the immigrant population.

In general, the average age of immigrants of both sexes increased between 1970 and 1980, from 25.5 to 27.8 for males and from 26.3 to 30 for females. For the decade as a whole, the average age was 26.4 for male immigrants and 28.4 for female immigrants. If they were to follow Canadian mortality patterns, the former would live approximately another 44 years and the latter 51 years. Hence, the age structure of the immigrant population in 1980 was older than it was in 1970 (Chart XII). The distribution shifted primarily toward the over-45 age groups and, to a lesser extent, toward the under-20 groups.

The proportion of young adults (age 20-40) shrank from 65.9% in 1970 to

54.3% in 1980. This development is a logical consequence of the family reunification process: once adult immigrants establish themselves, they send for their older relatives.

**TABLE 41. Marital Status Distribution of Immigrant Population and Canadian Population 15 Years of Age and Over, 1980**

| Marital status | M | Percentage | F | Percentage |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Immigrant population | | | |
| Single | 22,474 | 41.0 | 16,131 | 29.0 |
| Married | 30,665 | 55.9 | 33,051 | 59.3 |
| Widowed | 882 | 1.6 | 5,067 | 9.1 |
| Divorced and separated | 859 | 1.5 | 1,444 | 2.6 |
| **Total** | **54,880** | **100** | **55,693** | **100** |
| | Canadian population | | | |
| Single | 2,864,800 | 31.5 | 2,329,000 | 24.7 |
| Married | 5,849,500 | 64.3 | 5,886,000 | 62.5 |
| Widowed | 197,200 | 2.2 | 935,300 | 9.9 |
| Divorced and separated | 184,300 | 2.0 | 272,100 | 2.9 |
| **Total** | **9,095,700** | **100** | **9,422,300** | **100** |

Source: Employment and Immigration Canada, *Immigration Statistics*, ISSN 0576-2286, Statistics Canada, *Population Estimates by Marital Status, Age and Sex*, Catalogue No. 91-203, Annual.

## Marital Status

In 1980, the majority of immigrants over 15 years of age were married (56% of males and 59% of females). Although higher than those of 1970, these percentages were considerably lower than the levels of 64.3% (males) and

**TABLE 42. Numbers and Percentages of Immigrants Destined for the Labour Force, Canada, 1970 - 1981**

| Year | Number | Percentage considered workers | Year | Number | Percentage considered workers |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | % | | | % |
| 1970 | 77,723 | 53 | 1976 | 61,461 | 41 |
| 1971 | 61,282 | 50 | 1977 | 47,625 | 41 |
| 1972 | 59,432 | 49 | 1978 | 35,211 | 41 |
| 1973 | 92,228 | 50 | 1979 | 48,234 | 43 |
| 1974 | 106,083 | 49 | 1980 | 63,745 | 45 |
| 1975 | 81,189 | 43 | 1981 | 56,969 | 44 |

Source: Employment mard Immigration Canada, *Immigration Statistics, op cit.*

62.5% (females) recorded for the Canadian population as a whole. Because the proportion of widowed persons was the same for both immigrants and citizens, the difference obviously lies in the number of single persons. Forty-one per cent of male immigrants were single, compared with 32% of Canada's male population; the corresponding figures for females were 29% and 25% respectively (Table 41). In sum, single persons still made up a fairly large portion of the immigrant population.[22]

## Intended Occupations

Regardless of the grounds on which immigrants are admitted, some of them are destined for the labour force because of their age or the need to earn a living (Table 42). This proportion displayed a slight downward trend between 1970 and 1980, probably because of changes in the age structure due to shifts in the size of the various immigrant classes. The number of immigrants entering the labour force at any one time is proportionally very small, but it may, on occasion, account for a substantial part of labour force growth (Table 43). However, caution should be exercised in interpreting this particular measurement.[23]

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[22] No allowance is made for marriages of convenience between Canadian women and foreign men who would otherwise have had difficulty gaining entry.

[23] Since labour force growth is the difference between the number of persons entering the force and the number of persons leaving it for various reasons, the number of immigrants destined for the labour force could be higher than the actual increase, and the percentage could thus exceed 100.

**TABLE 43. Labour Force, Annual Growth and Contribution of Immigration to Growth, Canada, 1972 - 1982 (In thousands)**

| Year | Estimated labour force in January | Increase over the year | Immigrants destined to the labour force during the year | Percentage of increase |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1972 | 8,519 | 295 | 59 | 20 |
| 1973 | 8,814 | 386 | 92 | 24 |
| 1974 | 9,200 | 323 | 106 | 33 |
| 1975 | 9,523 | 326 | 81 | 25 |
| 1976 | 9,849 | 189 | 61 | 32 |
| 1977 | 10,038 | 308 | 47 | 15 |
| 1978 | 10,346 | 461 | 35 | 8 |
| 1979 | 10,807 | 374 | 48 | 13 |
| 1980 | 11,181 | 292 | 64 | 22 |
| 1981 | 11,473 | 112 | 57 | 51 |
| 1982 | 11,585 | . . . | . . . | . . . |

**Source:** Employment and Immigration Canada, *Immigration Statistics, op cit,* and Statistics Canada, *Historical Labour Force Statistics,* Catalogue No. 71-201, Annual (January 1984).

No major changes have occurred since 1970 in the intended occupations of immigrants. The manufacturing sector continued to be the primary source of immigrant jobs, followed by clerical occupations. Next came professional occupations, with the primary sector and manual labour falling into last place (Table 44). This distribution is in sharp contrast to that of the immigrant population in most European countries, where the bulk of arrivals are labourers and unskilled workers.[24]

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[24] Bernard Granotier, *Les Travailleurs immigrés en France*, Edition Nouvelle, Editions François Maspero, 1 Place Painlevé, Paris V, 1976, Chapters 2 and 3.

**TABLE 44. Distribution of Immigrant Population Destined for the Labour Force by Occupation, Canada, 1980 and 1981**

| Rank in 1980 | Occupational group | 1980 | | 1981 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Number | Per-centage | Number | Per-centage |
| 1 | Fabricating, assembling and repairing | 10,383 | 16.3 | 6,296 | 11.1 |
| 2 | Clerical | 7,207 | 11.3 | 7,044 | 12.4 |
| 3 | Natural sciences, engineering and mathematics | 5,032 | 7.9 | 6,932 | 12.2 |
| 4 | Service | 4,648 | 7.3 | 4,250 | 7.5 |
| 5 | Managerial, administrative | 3,065 | 4.8 | 3,601 | 6.3 |
| 6 | Construction | 2,918 | 4.6 | 2,194 | 3.9 |
| 7 | Machining | 2,867 | 4.5 | 2,529 | 4.4 |
| 8 | Medicine and health | 2,681 | 4.2 | 2,903 | 5.1 |
| 9 | Sales | 2,476 | 3.9 | 2,151 | 3.8 |
| 10 | Farming, horticulture and animal husbandry | 2,462 | 3.9 | 2,931 | 5.1 |
| 11 | Teaching | 1,895 | 3.0 | 1,677 | 2.9 |
| 12 | Processing | 1,544 | 2.4 | 1,170 | 2.1 |
| 13 | Transport equipment operating | 1,195 | 1.9 | 691 | 1.2 |
| 14 | Artistic, literary, performing arts | 1,111 | 1.7 | 1,131 | 2.0 |
| 15 | Social sciences | 498 | .8 | 555 | 1.0 |
| 16 | Material handling | 447 | .7 | 361 | .6 |
| 17 | Other crafts and equipment operating | 441 | .7 | 313 | .5 |
| 18 | Religion | 425 | .7 | 469 | .8 |
| 19 | Fishing, hunting, trapping | 227 | .4 | 135 | .2 |
| 20 | Entrepreneurs | 266 | .4 | 293 | .5 |
| 21 | Sport and recreation | 119 | .2 | 111 | .2 |
| 22 | Mining and quarrying including gas and oil | 75 | – | 67 | .1 |
| 23 | Forestry and logging | 41 | – | 19 | – |
| | Not stated and other | 11,722 | 18.4 | 9,146 | 16.1 |
| | **Total** | **63,745** | **100.0** | **56,969** | **100.0** |

Source: Employment and Immigration Canada, *Immigration Statistics, op. cit.*

## Emigration

As with most countries, emigration from Canada can only be measured indirectly. Although a fairly accurate accounting is made of the persons who settle in Canada, anyone can leave the country without an official record of the departure being made.

We are therefore obliged to rely on the work of the Demography Division's Estimates Section. Until 1976, the Section based its estimates on data from the United States and Great Britain, which maintain statistics on immigrant's countries of origin. Each year, it added to those statistics an estimate (fixed for five years) of emigration from Canada to other countries. Since 1976, the calculations include emigration estimates based on the number of people deleted from family allowance files (children) and income tax records (adults). These complex calculations yield the figures in Table 45.

In 1977, the United States introduced an annual quota on immigration from Canada, similar to restrictions applied to other countries. The current quota is 20,000 out of a total 290,000 immigrants subject to quota restrictions. Following a slump between 1971 and 1977, emigration to the United States rose again. However, since the quota only applies to persons born in Canada, subject to restrictions, the number of departures for the United States could continue to rise.

### TABLE 45. Estimated Emigration from Canada, 1962 - 1982

| Year | United Kingdom | United States | Other countries | Total |
|------|----------------|---------------|-----------------|-------|
| 1962 | 7,432 | 47,579 | 21,727 | 76,738 |
| 1963 | 5,240 | 51,512 | 26,812 | 83,564 |
| 1964 | 9,776 | 49,995 | 32,659 | 92,430 |
| 1965 | 10,241 | 49,656 | 45,410 | 105,307 |
| 1966 | 9,246 | 28,837 | 53,407 | 91,490 |
| 1967 | 10,066 | 38,854 | 59,542 | 108,462 |
| 1968 | 12,486 | 34,583 | 52,966 | 100,035 |
| 1969 | 13,175 | 28,892 | 48,020 | 90,087 |
| 1970 | 15,317 | 23,608 | 42,036 | 80,961 |
| 1971 | 13,388 | 21,039 | 35,670 | 70,097 |
| 1972 | 11,167 | 16,329 | 35,742 | 63,238 |
| 1973 | 11,380 | 13,557 | 53,547 | 78,484 |
| 1974 | 7,228 | 11,385 | 59,436 | 78,049 |
| 1975 | 7,142 | 11,177 | 52,397 | 70,716 |
| 1976 | 7,421 | 12,254 | 44,688 | 64,363 |
| 1977 | 6,847 | 20,894 | 33,668 | 61,409 |
| 1978 | 6,726 | 22,491 | 34,257 | 63,474 |
| 1979 | 6,037 | 20,181 | 28,530 | 54,748 |
| 1980 | 5,184 | . . | . . | 45,225 |
| 1981 | 5,612 | . . | . . | 42,011 |
| 1982 | 6,333[1] | . . | . . | 46,436[1] |

[1] Preliminary.

Source: Statistics Canada, *International and Interprovincial Migration in Canada*, Catalogue No. 91-208, Annual.

Appendix

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TABLE 46. Percentage Distribution of the Population by Broad Age Groups, Canada, the Provinces and Territories 1951, 1961 - 1983

| | Canada | Nfld. | P.E.I. | N.S. | N.B. | Que. | Ont. | Man. | Sask. | Alta. | B.C. | Yukon | N.W.T. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **1951 (Both sexes)** | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Young (0 - 17) | 34.8 | 44.3 | 38.6 | 37.5 | 40.8 | 38.6 | 31.0 | 33.0 | 35.7 | 35.2 | 29.7 | 31.4 | 41.5 |
| Adult (18 - 64) | 57.4 | 49.2 | 51.5 | 54.0 | 51.7 | 55.7 | 60.3 | 58.5 | 56.2 | 54.5 | 59.5 | 63.4 | 55.9 |
| Elderly (65 +) | 7.8 | 6.5 | 9.9 | 8.5 | 7.6 | 5.7 | 8.7 | 8.4 | 8.1 | 7.1 | 10.8 | 5.1 | 2.7 |
| (75 +) | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| **1961 (Both sexes)** | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Young (0 - 17) | 38.9 | 48.0 | 41.5 | 40.3 | 43.8 | 41.0 | 36.6 | 37.4 | 39.0 | 39.9 | 35.6 | 39.2 | 44.5 |
| Adult (18 - 64) | 53.5 | 46.1 | 48.0 | 51.1 | 48.4 | 53.2 | 55.2 | 53.6 | 51.7 | 53.1 | 54.2 | 57.5 | 52.9 |
| Elderly (65 +) | 7.7 | 5.9 | 10.4 | 8.6 | 9.8 | 5.8 | 8.1 | 9.0 | 9.3 | 7.0 | 10.2 | 3.3 | 2.5 |
| (75 +) | (2.8) | (2.2) | (4.2) | (3.3) | (2.9) | (1.9) | (2.9) | (3.3) | (3.5) | (2.5) | (4.1) | (1.2) | (0.7) |
| **1966 (Both sexes)** | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Young (0 - 17) | 38.7 | 47.3 | 41.2 | 39.8 | 42.7 | 39.7 | 37.0 | 37.6 | 39.5 | 40.4 | 35.9 | 42.0 | 47.6 |
| Adult (18 - 64) | 53.7 | 46.7 | 48.1 | 51.3 | 49.1 | 54.3 | 34.9 | 53.2 | 51.2 | 52.4 | 54.6 | 54.5 | 49.6 |
| Elderly (65 +) | 7.7 | 5.9 | 10.8 | 8.9 | 8.2 | 6.0 | 8.1 | 9.2 | 9.3 | 7.1 | 9.6 | 3.6 | 2.7 |
| (75 +) | (2.9) | (2.2) | (4.5) | (3.6) | (3.2) | (2.0) | (3.0) | (3.7) | (3.9) | (2.8) | (4.1) | (1.2) | (0.8) |
| **1971 (Both sexes)** | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Young (0 - 17) | 35.7 | 44.5 | 38.3 | 36.8 | 38.9 | 36.0 | 34.4 | 35.0 | 36.9 | 37.8 | 33.6 | 39.6 | 48.2 |
| Adult (18 - 64) | 56.2 | 49.3 | 50.6 | 54.0 | 52.5 | 57.1 | 57.2 | 53.3 | 52.9 | 54.9 | 57.0 | 57.6 | 49.6 |
| Elderly (65 +) | 8.1 | 6.1 | 11.0 | 9.2 | 8.6 | 6.8 | 8.4 | 9.7 | 10.2 | 7.3 | 9.4 | 2.9 | 2.1 |
| (75 +) | (3.1) | (2.3) | (4.9) | (3.8) | (3.5) | (2.3) | (3.2) | (4.0) | (4.4) | (2.9) | (3.9) | (1.0) | (0.6) |
| **1976 (Both sexes)** | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Young (0 - 17) | 31.9 | 40.7 | 34.9 | 33.4 | 35.1 | 31.4 | 31.1 | 31.9 | 33.4 | 33.7 | 30.1 | 35.4 | 44.9 |
| Adult (18 - 64) | 59.4 | 52.7 | 53.9 | 56.9 | 55.9 | 60.9 | 60.0 | 57.6 | 55.5 | 58.8 | 60.1 | 61.7 | 52.4 |
| Elderly (65 +) | 8.8 | 6.5 | 11.2 | 9.7 | 9.0 | 7.7 | 8.9 | 10.4 | 11.1 | 7.6 | 9.8 | 2.9 | 2.7 |
| (75 +) | (3.3) | (2.4) | (4.9) | (3.8) | (3.5) | (2.6) | (3.4) | (4.1) | (4.5) | (2.9) | (3.8) | (0.9) | (0.8) |

**Source:** See end of table.

TABLE 46. Percentage Distribution of the Population by Broad Age Groups, Canada, the Provinces and Territories 1951, 1961 - 1983 – Concluded

| | Canada | Nfld. | P.E.I. | N.S. | N.B. | Que. | Ont. | Man. | Sask. | Alta. | B.C. | Yukon | N.W.T. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **1981 (Both sexes)** | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Young (0 - 17) | 28.1 | 36.5 | 31.2 | 29.4 | 31.2 | 27.3 | 27.4 | 28.8 | 30.5 | 29.6 | 26.5 | 32.1 | 41.7 |
| Adult (18 - 64) | 62.2 | 55.8 | 56.6 | 59.6 | 58.7 | 63.8 | 62.5 | 59.4 | 57.5 | 63.1 | 62.6 | 64.7 | 55.4 |
| Elderly (65 +) | 9.7 | 7.7 | 12.1 | 10.9 | 10.2 | 8.8 | 10.0 | 11.9 | 12.1 | 7.3 | 10.9 | 3.2 | 2.9 |
| (75 +) | (3.6) | (2.7) | (5.1) | (4.1) | (3.9) | (3.1) | (3.8) | (4.7) | (4.8) | (2.8) | (4.1) | (1.0) | (0.9) |
| **1983 (Both sexes)** | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Young (0 - 17) | 26.8 | 34.6 | 29.9 | 27.8 | 29.6 | 25.9 | 26.0 | 27.7 | 29.4 | 28.4 | 25.4 | 31.8 | 39.5 |
| Adult (18 - 64) | 63.2 | 57.3 | 57.6 | 60.9 | 60.0 | 64.8 | 63.6 | 60.2 | 58.3 | 64.2 | 63.3 | 64.7 | 57.8 |
| Elderly (65 +) | 10.2 | 8.1 | 12.5 | 11.3 | 10.4 | 9.3 | 10.4 | 12.1 | 12.3 | 7.4 | 11.3 | 3.5 | 2.7 |
| (75 +) | (3.8) | (2.8) | (5.2) | (4.4) | (4.0) | (3.4) | (4.1) | (4.9) | (5.0) | (2.9) | (4.3) | (1.0) | (1.0) |
| **1983 (Males)** | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Young (0 - 17) | 27.7 | 35.3 | 31.0 | 28.8 | 30.6 | 27.1 | 27.1 | 28.8 | 30.1 | 28.6 | 26.2 | 31.3 | 38.6 |
| Adult (18 - 64) | 63.7 | 57.3 | 57.9 | 61.3 | 60.2 | 65.2 | 64.1 | 60.5 | 58.6 | 64.9 | 63.9 | 64.9 | 58.6 |
| Elderly (65 +) | 8.6 | 7.4 | 11.1 | 9.9 | 9.2 | 7.7 | 8.8 | 10.7 | 11.3 | 6.5 | 9.9 | 3.4 | 2.8 |
| (75 +) | (3.0) | (2.4) | (4.2) | (3.4) | (3.2) | (2.5) | (3.0) | (3.9) | (4.3) | (2.4) | (3.5) | (1.0) | (1.0) |
| **1983 (Females)** | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Young (0 - 17) | 25.8 | 34.0 | 28.9 | 26.8 | 28.6 | 24.8 | 24.9 | 26.6 | 28.7 | 28.3 | 24.6 | 32.3 | 40.4 |
| Adult (18 - 64) | 62.7 | 57.3 | 57.4 | 60.5 | 59.8 | 64.4 | 63.1 | 59.8 | 57.9 | 63.4 | 62.8 | 64.6 | 56.9 |
| Elderly (65 +) | 11.4 | 8.8 | 13.8 | 12.7 | 11.6 | 10.8 | 11.9 | 13.6 | 13.4 | 8.3 | 12.6 | 3.1 | 2.7 |
| (75 +) | (4.7) | (3.3) | (6.2) | (5.3) | (4.9) | (4.2) | (5.1) | (5.8) | (5.6) | (3.4) | (5.1) | (1.0) | (1.0) |

**Source:** Statistics Canada, Censuses of Canada and *Estimates of Population for Canada and the Provinces*, Catalogue No. 91-201.

## TABLE 47a. First Marriage Age-specific Rates (per 1,000) for Male Cohorts, 1938 - 1965, Canada, – Male

| Year of birth → | 1938 | 1939 | 1940 | 1941 | 1942 | 1943 | 1944 | 1945 | 1946 | 1947 | 1948 | 1949 | 1950 | 1951 | 1952 | 1953 | 1954 | 1955 | 1956 | 1957 | 1958 | 1959 | 1960 | 1961 | 1962 | 1963 | 1964 | 1965 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Age / Year of 17th birthday → | 1955 | 1956 | 1957 | 1958 | 1959 | 1960 | 1961 | 1962 | 1963 | 1964 | 1965 | 1966 | 1967 | 1968 | 1969 | 1970 | 1971 | 1972 | 1973 | 1974 | 1975 | 1976 | 1977 | 1978 | 1979 | 1980 | 1981 | 1982 |
| 15 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 16 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 17 | 3.3 | 4.9 | 4.7 | 5.0 | 4.3 | 4.9 | 3.9 | 4.0 | 3.8 | 4.0 | 3.9 | 3.9 | 3.9 | 3.8 | 4.0 | 4.3 | 4.3 | 4.7 | 4.9 | 4.5 | 3.9 | 3.3 | 2.5 | 2.0 | 1.6 | 1.7 | 1.2 | 0.9 |
| 18 | 18.5 | 19.3 | 19.2 | 19.0 | 19.2 | 18.0 | 17.1 | 15.3 | 15.9 | 18.3 | 18.1 | 17.8 | 16.9 | 17.2 | 17.9 | 18.9 | 21.9 | 20.6 | 19.7 | 18.3 | 15.0 | 13.0 | 11.1 | 9.6 | 8.6 | 6.8 | 6.1 | |
| 19 | 43.1 | 44.2 | 43.9 | 44.5 | 42.6 | 43.1 | 38.1 | 37.7 | 39.2 | 44.6 | 44.2 | 41.0 | 39.8 | 41.7 | 44.2 | 48.7 | 48.0 | 44.7 | 41.3 | 36.6 | 32.4 | 28.7 | 25.3 | 22.7 | 19.9 | 16.7 | | |
| 20 | 76.0 | 76.8 | 74.2 | 75.5 | 74.5 | 73.7 | 71.7 | 70.6 | 73.3 | 82.7 | 77.4 | 73.4 | 73.6 | 78.3 | 83.6 | 81.7 | 77.6 | 71.3 | 62.0 | 58.8 | 53.4 | 49.7 | 44.9 | 40.7 | 35.4 | | | |
| 21 | 114.7 | 113.0 | 114.7 | 133.4 | 111.3 | 116.8 | 114.0 | 112.9 | 118.1 | 127.6 | 120.1 | 114.0 | 116.5 | 118.5 | 109.5 | 100.2 | 96.9 | 83.0 | 79.4 | 75.0 | 71.6 | 68.1 | 61.8 | 55.2 | | | | |
| 22 | 117.7 | 118.6 | 118.4 | 121.1 | 122.6 | 130.6 | 130.6 | 128.2 | 128.6 | 140.0 | 120.1 | 125.3 | 127.1 | 118.5 | 110.4 | 102.6 | 92.3 | 86.3 | 83.2 | 86.4 | 80.5 | 74.3 | 70.0 | | | | | |
| 23 | 112.8 | 114.5 | 114.7 | 119.4 | 121.9 | 131.3 | 128.1 | 119.6 | 121.1 | 130.7 | 116.1 | 118.3 | 110.2 | 100.9 | 96.4 | 87.5 | 84.7 | 81.6 | 80.4 | 81.3 | 79.6 | 74.6 | | | | | | |
| 24 | 98.6 | 98.5 | 101.1 | 106.0 | 108.4 | 111.0 | 106.0 | 98.5 | 98.3 | 97.3 | 97.5 | 92.5 | 87.3 | 82.4 | 75.3 | 73.7 | 72.5 | 72.6 | 73.5 | 72.1 | 70.4 | | | | | | | |
| 25 | 79.5 | 82.2 | 83.9 | 80.6 | 85.5 | 84.8 | 80.8 | 75.2 | 78.1 | 75.3 | 72.7 | 68.9 | 67.0 | 61.9 | 62.5 | 61.4 | 62.1 | 63.2 | 63.8 | 62.4 | | | | | | | | |
| 26 | 63.1 | 65.2 | 64.1 | 64.6 | 64.3 | 62.0 | 59.7 | 56.2 | 58.5 | 55.5 | 52.6 | 51.4 | 48.7 | 49.8 | 48.8 | 50.2 | 51.0 | 52.2 | 53.5 | | | | | | | | | |
| 27 | 48.8 | 49.2 | 49.6 | 47.8 | 46.7 | 44.9 | 42.1 | 42.3 | 42.4 | 40.7 | 39.8 | 38.2 | 38.9 | 39.0 | 40.4 | 41.5 | 42.4 | 42.5 | | | | | | | | | | |
| 28 | 37.4 | 37.2 | 30.8 | 35.9 | 34.0 | 33.7 | 31.2 | 31.3 | 31.1 | 30.7 | 29.7 | 31.3 | 31.5 | 31.8 | 32.9 | 33.6 | 34.4 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 29 | 29.2 | 28.4 | 28.0 | 27.5 | 24.7 | 25.9 | 23.9 | 23.3 | 24.1 | 23.2 | 23.6 | 23.7 | 25.0 | 26.4 | 27.4 | 27.5 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 30 | 21.8 | 21.5 | 22.4 | 20.4 | 19.5 | 18.9 | 18.6 | 18.5 | 18.3 | 18.3 | 18.9 | 19.5 | 20.6 | 21.0 | 21.8 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 31 | 16.5 | 16.5 | 15.6 | 15.3 | 14.6 | 14.5 | 14.1 | 14.2 | 14.6 | 14.3 | 14.7 | 15.7 | 16.1 | 16.8 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 32 | 13.7 | 12.5 | 12.6 | 12.4 | 11.4 | 11.3 | 11.3 | 11.2 | 11.3 | 11.3 | 12.0 | 12.4 | 13.3 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 33 | 10.6 | 10.8 | 9.6 | 9.3 | 9.3 | 8.7 | 9.2 | 8.7 | 9.3 | 9.4 | 9.8 | 10.3 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 34 | 8.4 | 8.6 | 7.8 | 8.1 | 7.2 | 7.2 | 7.1 | 7.3 | 7.6 | 7.9 | 8.0 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 35 | 7.0 | 6.4 | 6.8 | 6.2 | 6.0 | 6.0 | 6.1 | 6.3 | 6.3 | 6.5 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 36 | 5.8 | 5.8 | 5.5 | 5.0 | 4.8 | 5.0 | 4.6 | 5.2 | 5.7 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 37 | 5.0 | 4.3 | 4.6 | 4.2 | 4.3 | 4.2 | 4.3 | 4.0 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 38 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 39 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 40 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 41 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

# TABLE 47b. First Marriage Age-specific Rates (per 1,000) for Female Cohorts, 1940 - 1967, Canada, – Female

| Age | Year of birth → | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1967 | 1966 | 1965 | 1964 | 1963 | 1962 | 1961 | 1960 | 1959 | 1958 | 1957 | 1956 | 1955 | 1954 | 1953 | 1952 | 1951 | 1950 | 1949 | 1948 | 1947 | 1946 | 1945 | 1944 | 1943 | 1942 | 1941 | 1940 |
| | Year of 15th birthday → | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 1982 | 1981 | 1980 | 1979 | 1978 | 1977 | 1976 | 1975 | 1974 | 1973 | 1972 | 1971 | 1970 | 1969 | 1968 | 1967 | 1966 | 1965 | 1964 | 1963 | 1962 | 1961 | 1960 | 1959 | 1958 | 1957 | 1956 | 1955 |
| 15 | 0.5 | 0.5 | 0.5 | 0.5 | 1.1 | 1.8 | 2.2 | 2.5 | 2.8 | 3.5 | 3.5 | 3.4 | 3.5 | 3.5 | 3.2 | 3.3 | 3.4 | 3.4 | 4.1 | 4.2 | 5.4 | 5.0 | 5.4 | 5.8 | 6.2 | 5.9 | 6.3 | 5.2 |
| 16 | | 4.6 | 5.0 | 5.9 | 6.6 | 7.8 | 9.2 | 11.4 | 13.9 | 15.8 | 17.4 | 18.6 | 17.6 | 17.7 | 16.7 | 15.7 | 16.5 | 16.8 | 17.6 | 19.5 | 21.6 | 22.0 | 22.4 | 25.7 | 26.7 | 26.5 | 27.2 | 27.9 |
| 17 | | | 11.1 | 12.8 | 15.3 | 17.2 | 19.7 | 23.7 | 27.4 | 33.0 | 36.1 | 39.9 | 41.8 | 40.1 | 40.6 | 38.6 | 39.7 | 40.8 | 41.0 | 44.8 | 48.7 | 45.4 | 48.5 | 53.5 | 56.8 | 59.2 | 62.0 | 61.3 |
| 18 | | | | 34.6 | 39.1 | 45.4 | 49.8 | 54.6 | 61.6 | 68.1 | 77.6 | 82.3 | 87.0 | 92.3 | 85.2 | 82.7 | 82.0 | 81.7 | 84.5 | 88.0 | 93.6 | 87.2 | 86.2 | 94.3 | 101.6 | 104.8 | 111.0 | 109.7 |
| 19 | | | | | 56.8 | 64.2 | 70.5 | 74.5 | 79.6 | 85.3 | 91.3 | 101.4 | 106.5 | 115.8 | 119.7 | 113.2 | 108.7 | 108.6 | 110.3 | 116.5 | 123.1 | 109.4 | 106.5 | 112.7 | 122.0 | 120.2 | 126.2 | 123.9 |
| 20 | | | | | | 76.0 | 81.4 | 87.5 | 90.0 | 92.4 | 96.2 | 97.2 | 108.7 | 116.2 | 123.3 | 130.3 | 126.8 | 121.5 | 126.1 | 132.8 | 143.3 | 124.7 | 118.5 | 124.9 | 125.7 | 124.0 | 126.9 | 124.1 |
| 21 | | | | | | | 81.8 | 84.7 | 89.3 | 89.5 | 90.8 | 90.4 | 91.1 | 102.5 | 109.0 | 117.5 | 125.7 | 128.8 | 126.7 | 134.6 | 143.0 | 132.1 | 122.9 | 124.5 | 127.3 | 119.5 | 120.6 | 116.3 |
| 22 | | | | | | | | 76.7 | 84.7 | 79.0 | 79.4 | 76.5 | 77.5 | 79.1 | 86.2 | 89.9 | 95.4 | 100.7 | 101.3 | 105.8 | 115.9 | 105.1 | 100.7 | 103.0 | 104.4 | 95.1 | 94.1 | 91.9 |
| 23 | | | | | | | | | 68.4 | 67.5 | 66.5 | 64.8 | 62.1 | 63.2 | 61.6 | 66.5 | 68.2 | 71.0 | 74.0 | 73.4 | 83.0 | 76.3 | 74.1 | 78.2 | 78.0 | 73.6 | 70.9 | 67.2 |
| 24 | | | | | | | | | | 55.7 | 58.0 | 52.9 | 49.9 | 48.1 | 47.7 | 46.8 | 50.4 | 50.6 | 51.0 | 51.8 | 49.9 | 53.4 | 50.6 | 53.6 | 55.9 | 54.2 | 52.3 | 50.7 |
| 25 | | | | | | | | | | | 43.3 | 42.2 | 40.8 | 38.4 | 37.1 | 36.5 | 35.7 | 36.9 | 36.5 | 36.3 | 36.5 | 38.2 | 37.7 | 38.1 | 39.2 | 39.0 | 38.8 | 36.6 |
| 26 | | | | | | | | | | | | 33.7 | 31.6 | 30.2 | 29.3 | 27.8 | 28.2 | 27.2 | 27.2 | 26.1 | 25.7 | 27.7 | 25.7 | 27.9 | 28.2 | 28.1 | 27.7 | 27.2 |
| 27 | | | | | | | | | | | | | 25.9 | 24.5 | 24.3 | 22.2 | 21.6 | 21.0 | 20.3 | 20.0 | 18.8 | 20.1 | 18.9 | 19.9 | 21.0 | 21.0 | 20.6 | 19.6 |
| 28 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 19.7 | 18.6 | 18.0 | 16.9 | 16.3 | 15.6 | 14.9 | 15.1 | 15.7 | 14.8 | 15.5 | 14.9 | 15.3 | 15.8 | 16.7 |
| 29 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 15.7 | 14.5 | 13.9 | 12.9 | 12.4 | 12.1 | 11.1 | 11.9 | 11.7 | 11.4 | 11.6 | 12.6 | 12.6 | 12.4 |
| 30 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 12.0 | 11.4 | 10.8 | 9.9 | 9.4 | 9.3 | 9.4 | 9.5 | 8.9 | 9.2 | 9.4 | 9.6 | 10.3 |
| 31 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 9.0 | 8.6 | 7.8 | 7.5 | 6.9 | 7.4 | 7.5 | 7.3 | 7.3 | 7.8 | 7.8 | 7.8 |
| 32 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 7.2 | 6.5 | 6.2 | 5.9 | 6.1 | 5.9 | 5.9 | 5.9 | 6.7 | 6.0 | 6.2 |
| 33 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 5.5 | 5.5 | 5.0 | 4.9 | 4.7 | 4.7 | 5.2 | 4.8 | 4.9 | 5.1 |
| 34 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 4.4 | 4.1 | 4.0 | 4.0 | 4.1 | 4.1 | 3.9 | 4.5 | 4.3 |
| 35 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 3.3 | 3.6 | 3.3 | 3.4 | 3.3 | 3.7 | 3.6 | 4.1 |
| 36 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 37 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 38 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 39 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 40 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 41 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

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## TABLE 48. Total Divorce Rate and Increase over Preceding Year, Canada, 1969 - 1982[1]

| Year | Total divorce[2] rate per 10,000 at 25-years duration | Increase over preceding year (%) |
|---|---|---|
| 1969 | 1,370 | . . . |
| 1970 | 1,863 | 36 |
| 1971 | 1,885 | 1 |
| 1972 | 2,007 | 6 |
| 1973 | 2,233 | 11 |
| 1974 | 2,673 | 20 |
| 1975 | 2,932 | 10 |
| 1976 | 3,072 | 5 |
| 1977 | 3,063 | – |
| 1978 | 3,103 | 1 |
| 1979 | 3,180 | 2 |
| 1980 | 3,277 | 3 |
| 1981 | 3,533 | 8 |
| 1982 | 3,655 | 3 |

[1] The denominator used in calculating this index was one half the sum of the marriages in the observation year minus the duration of marriage and the marriages in the preceding year.
[2] The percentage of divorces included varies from 80% in 1969 to 90% in 1980.

Source: Based on data from Table 28.

## TABLE 49. Cumulative Duration-specific Divorce Rates (per 10,000) in Recent Marriage Cohorts, Canada

| Duration in years | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Cohort** | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1967 - 1968 | 3 | 20 | 69 | 144 | 259 | 401 | 563 | 746 | 919 | 1,084 | 1,240 | 1,391 | 1,527 |
| 1968 - 1969 | 3 | 25 | 78 | 161 | 283 | 441 | 623 | 807 | 978 | 1,143 | 1,303 | 1,455 | 1,602 |
| 1969 - 1970 | 3 | 28 | 83 | 175 | 326 | 503 | 690 | 887 | 1,063 | 1,237 | 1,400 | 1,562 | 1,719 |
| 1970 - 1971 | 4 | 32 | 93 | 199 | 360 | 546 | 735 | 926 | 1,110 | 1,290 | 1,462 | 1,628 | |
| 1971 - 1972 | 4 | 37 | 111 | 228 | 402 | 595 | 791 | 988 | 1,179 | 1,366 | 1,551 | | |
| 1972 - 1973 | 5 | 41 | 124 | 253 | 434 | 637 | 849 | 1,060 | 1,265 | 1,469 | | | |
| 1973 - 1974 | 5 | 49 | 143 | 279 | 463 | 676 | 902 | 1,130 | 1,348 | | | | |
| 1974 - 1975 | 6 | 58 | 162 | 309 | 508 | 733 | 976 | 1,208 | | | | | |
| 1975 - 1976 | 8 | 67 | 178 | 339 | 557 | 806 | 1,052 | | | | | | |
| 1976 - 1977 | 8 | 71 | 187 | 352 | 584 | 834 | | | | | | | |
| 1977 - 1978 | 7 | 72 | 198 | 373 | 610 | | | | | | | | |
| 1978 - 1979 | 8 | 68 | 203 | 390 | — | — | — | 1,454[1] | | | | | |
| 1979 - 1980 | 8 | 76 | 213 | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1980 - 1981 | 9 | 83 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1981 - 1982 | 10 | | | | | | | | | | | | |

[1] Projection.

Source: Table 28.

## TABLE 50. Divorces by Duration of Marriage, Canada, 1969 - 1982

| Duration in years | 1969 | 1970 | 1971 | 1972 | 1973 | 1974 | 1975 | 1976 | 1977 | 1978 | 1979 | 1980 | 1981 | 1982 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 0 | 51 | 58 | 75 | 84 | 99 | 105 | 129 | 153 | 148 | 139 | 157 | 152 | 163 | 195 |
| 1 | 281 | 390 | 473 | 524 | 645 | 716 | 872 | 1,026 | 1,144 | 1,204 | 1,216 | 1,124 | 1,282 | 1,403 |
| 2 | 505 | 834 | 931 | 1,023 | 1,165 | 1,457 | 1,662 | 1,863 | 2,061 | 2,163 | 2,214 | 2,340 | 2,517 | 2,586 |
| 3 | 636 | 1,094 | 1,258 | 1,466 | 1,712 | 2,019 | 2,285 | 2,585 | 2,701 | 2,916 | 3,144 | 3,144 | 3,263 | 3,493 |
| 4 | 867 | 1,406 | 1,639 | 1,950 | 2,152 | 2,794 | 3,063 | 3,411 | 3,610 | 3,669 | 3,940 | 4,264 | 4,420 | 4,425 |
| 5 | 909 | 1,389 | 1,688 | 2,022 | 2,403 | 2,797 | 3,277 | 3,525 | 3,779 | 4,064 | 4,245 | 4,469 | 4,873 | 4,766 |
| 6 | 918 | 1,430 | 1,586 | 1,926 | 2,237 | 2,731 | 3,216 | 3,558 | 3,583 | 3,847 | 4,227 | 4,487 | 4,809 | 4,811 |
| 7 | 916 | 1,479 | 1,468 | 1,718 | 2,146 | 2,674 | 3,096 | 3,259 | 3,565 | 3,630 | 3,855 | 4,206 | 4,545 | 4,593 |
| 8 | 945 | 1,352 | 1,474 | 1,524 | 1,900 | 2,356 | 2,839 | 2,919 | 3,032 | 3,270 | 3,497 | 3,735 | 4,090 | 4,327 |
| 9 | 918 | 1,251 | 1,271 | 1,466 | 1,664 | 2,129 | 2,435 | 2,741 | 2,782 | 2,921 | 3,231 | 3,413 | 3,670 | 4,071 |
| 10 | 892 | 1,224 | 1,230 | 1,364 | 1,484 | 1,911 | 2,165 | 2,456 | 2,492 | 2,640 | 2,824 | 3,023 | 3,262 | 3,625 |
| 11 | 805 | 1,206 | 1,249 | 1,230 | 1,332 | 1,707 | 1,830 | 2,163 | 2,229 | 2,328 | 2,549 | 2,692 | 2,998 | 3,154 |
| 12 | 894 | 1,051 | 1,082 | 1,193 | 1,260 | 1,554 | 1,733 | 1,886 | 1,967 | 2,070 | 2,191 | 2,302 | 2,597 | 8,912 |
| 13 | 766 | 1,092 | 1,067 | 1,050 | 1,277 | 1,538 | 1,718 | 1,751 | 1,726 | 1,904 | 1,953 | 2,120 | 2,324 | 2,550 |
| 14 | 735 | 1,083 | 1,005 | 1,075 | 1,137 | 1,458 | 1,541 | 1,589 | 1,619 | 1,701 | 1,764 | 1,807 | 2,091 | 2,328 |
| 15 | 649 | 933 | 920 | 994 | 1,093 | 1,269 | 1,465 | 1,500 | 1,484 | 1,542 | 1,535 | 1,660 | 1,818 | 2,051 |
| 16 | 700 | 959 | 837 | 949 | 1,039 | 1,206 | 1,390 | 1,450 | 1,396 | 1,390 | 1,353 | 1,481 | 1,675 | 1,725 |
| 17 | 674 | 892 | 837 | 872 | 998 | 1,228 | 1,333 | 1,362 | 1,320 | 1,290 | 1,253 | 1,295 | 1,519 | 1,604 |
| 18 | 631 | 821 | 902 | 804 | 884 | 1,131 | 1,398 | 1,286 | 1,216 | 1,254 | 1,233 | 1,232 | 1,397 | 1,470 |
| 19 | 641 | 796 | 795 | 828 | 916 | 1,097 | 1,171 | 1,275 | 1,215 | 1,175 | 1,184 | 1,216 | 1,259 | 1,365 |
| 20 | 624 | 749 | 761 | 781 | 874 | 1,116 | 1,091 | 1,177 | 1,152 | 1,118 | 1,050 | 1,107 | 1,228 | 1,360 |
| 21 | 598 | 731 | 687 | 737 | 793 | 971 | 1,066 | 1,062 | 1,154 | 1,128 | 1,080 | 1,028 | 1,201 | 1,219 |
| 22 | 642 | 713 | 700 | 720 | 744 | 936 | 1,038 | 1,010 | 961 | 1,014 | 1,121 | 1,020 | 1,093 | 1,145 |
| 23 | 642 | 730 | 641 | 646 | 732 | 912 | 938 | 991 | 973 | 902 | 966 | 998 | 1,027 | 995 |
| 24 | 546 | 692 | 650 | 636 | 753 | 841 | 863 | 963 | 892 | 913 | 875 | 896 | 986 | 966 |
| 25 | 485 | 543 | 594 | 621 | 696 | 725 | 798 | 887 | 881 | 848 | 799 | 830 | 927 | 876 |
| 26+ | 4,083 | 4,286 | 3,840 | 4,152 | 4,539 | 5,598 | 6,141 | 6,294 | 6,223 | 6,046 | 5,951 | 5,898 | 6,542 | 6,335 |
| **Total** | 2,198 | 29,239 | 29,685 | 32,389 | 36,704 | 45,019 | 50,611 | 51,209 | 55,371 | 57,155 | 59,474 | 62,019 | 67,673 | 70,436 |

**TABLE 51. Age-Specific Fertility Rate for Women of All Marital Statuses (per 1,000), Canada (Excluding Newfoundland), 1971 - 1982**

| Age | 1971 | 1972 | 1973 | 1974 | 1975 | 1976 | 1977 | 1978 | 1979 | 1980 | 1981 | 1982 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 14 | 1.4 | 1.4 | 1.5 | 1.4 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 1.4 | 1.5 | 1.4 | 1.4 | 1.4 | 1.3 |
| 15 | 5.6 | 5.7 | 5.8 | 5.7 | 6.1 | 5.6 | 5.6 | 5.3 | 4.8 | 5.0 | 4.7 | 4.8 |
| 16 | 17.7 | 18.3 | 18.2 | 18.0 | 18.4 | 17.2 | 16.2 | 15.1 | 13.8 | 13.4 | 12.6 | 12.4 |
| 17 | 27.3 | 37.0 | 36.4 | 34.7 | 35.8 | 33.0 | 30.6 | 27.9 | 25.8 | 25.7 | 24.0 | 23.7 |
| 18 | 60.7 | 58.4 | 54.9 | 51.1 | 51.1 | 49.2 | 45.4 | 42.3 | 39.6 | 38.4 | 36.9 | 34.9 |
| 19 | 83.3 | 76.1 | 74.1 | 69.1 | 68.6 | 65.4 | 62.7 | 58.1 | 54.0 | 53.4 | 50.5 | 47.8 |
| 20 | 104.3 | 92.6 | 89.0 | 86.1 | 85.2 | 82.3 | 77.3 | 74.1 | 71.6 | 68.5 | 65.2 | 64.0 |
| 21 | 122.4 | 108.1 | 103.4 | 99.5 | 103.2 | 97.1 | 95.5 | 89.3 | 88.3 | 86.6 | 82.3 | 78.1 |
| 22 | 141.2 | 129.3 | 121.0 | 116.1 | 118.4 | 115.6 | 109.5 | 103.3 | 103.0 | 102.8 | 99.2 | 96.1 |
| 23 | 151.2 | 139.3 | 135.8 | 130.6 | 131.2 | 126.4 | 124.6 | 118.4 | 118.8 | 116.4 | 113.5 | 109.1 |
| 24 | 151.8 | 149.8 | 145.2 | 142.3 | 140.8 | 137.0 | 134.4 | 130.8 | 126.4 | 127.9 | 124.3 | 119.6 |
| 25 | 166.0 | 148.5 | 148.6 | 146.0 | 146.2 | 143.2 | 139.6 | 136.1 | 138.2 | 133.4 | 134.0 | 126.7 |
| 26 | 149.4 | 151.4 | 141.7 | 145.0 | 145.0 | 141.6 | 139.1 | 135.5 | 137.1 | 136.7 | 134.2 | 130.9 |
| 27 | 145.8 | 131.3 | 139.3 | 134.2 | 137.6 | 135.0 | 134.2 | 130.9 | 133.5 | 132.9 | 130.4 | 124.2 |
| 28 | 128.3 | 125.0 | 120.0 | 128.3 | 124.9 | 125.1 | 123.2 | 123.5 | 123.5 | 123.1 | 122.2 | 118.3 |
| 29 | 115.5 | 109.1 | 108.1 | 105.6 | 113.3 | 109.2 | 110.4 | 109.5 | 113.5 | 111.8 | 112.5 | 108.9 |
| 30 | 101.7 | 97.4 | 91.1 | 93.0 | 93.1 | 97.1 | 94.2 | 94.7 | 97.3 | 97.6 | 95.2 | 94.5 |
| 31 | 87.0 | 80.3 | 76.3 | 74.8 | 77.5 | 75.8 | 80.0 | 77.0 | 79.0 | 80.3 | 82.4 | 80.6 |
| 32 | 75.5 | 70.6 | 64.9 | 64.3 | 62.3 | 61.4 | 63.2 | 64.8 | 65.3 | 65.0 | 67.6 | 65.8 |
| 33 | 63.4 | 57.4 | 54.8 | 52.9 | 51.9 | 50.5 | 50.4 | 50.1 | 52.2 | 52.3 | 53.3 | 52.0 |
| 34 | 55.4 | 49.2 | 44.1 | 43.4 | 41.3 | 40.4 | 39.2 | 39.5 | 41.6 | 42.1 | 41.7 | 41.4 |
| 35 | 46.5 | 40.2 | 36.6 | 34.3 | 33.9 | 32.7 | 31.4 | 30.3 | 31.4 | 32.1 | 32.2 | 31.4 |
| 36 | 41.0 | 35.1 | 30.1 | 26.7 | 25.4 | 25.4 | 25.1 | 23.3 | 24.0 | 23.8 | 24.2 | 24.9 |
| 37 | 32.6 | 28.8 | 25.6 | 22.1 | 20.5 | 19.7 | 19.2 | 17.3 | 16.9 | 17.0 | 17.3 | 17.3 |
| 38 | 26.6 | 23.5 | 20.5 | 17.6 | 15.7 | 15.2 | 14.1 | 13.2 | 12.3 | 12.3 | 12.2 | 12.4 |
| 39 | 21.5 | 17.8 | 15.5 | 13.7 | 12.3 | 11.4 | 10.7 | 9.0 | 9.6 | 9.0 | 8.9 | 8.9 |
| 40 | 17.7 | 14.0 | 11.3 | 10.2 | 8.5 | 8.5 | 6.8 | 6.8 | 6.4 | 6.3 | 6.4 | 6.0 |
| 41 | 11.3 | 9.7 | 8.2 | 6.8 | 6.5 | 5.9 | 4.7 | 4.7 | 4.4 | 3.8 | 4.2 | 4.0 |
| 42 | 8.6 | 7.7 | 6.3 | 5.0 | 4.5 | 3.9 | 3.4 | 3.2 | 3.0 | 2.4 | 2.6 | 2.5 |
| 43 | 5.7 | 4.6 | 3.7 | 3.3 | 3.2 | 2.3 | 2.0 | 1.9 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 1.4 | 1.6 |
| 44 | 3.7 | 2.4 | 2.2 | 1.9 | 1.6 | 1.4 | 1.1 | 1.1 | 1.2 | .9 | .8 | .9 |
| 45 | | 1.5 | 1.1 | 1.0 | 1.0 | .7 | .7 | .7 | .6 | .5 | .5 | .4 |
| 46 | | .8 | .6 | .5 | .4 | .4 | .4 | .3 | .2 | .2 | .3 | .2 |
| 47 | | .3 | .1 | .2 | .2 | .2 | .2 | .2 | .1 | .1 | .1 | .1 |
| 48 | | .2 | .1 | .1 | .2 | .1 | .1 | .1 | .1 | .1 | – | – |
| 49 | | .1 | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |

**Source:** Statistics Canada, based on data from *Vital Statistics, Vol II, Births and Deaths*, Catalogue No. 84-204, Annual.

**TABLE 52. Ischaemic Heart Disease and Cerebro-vascular Disease Mortality Rates,[1] Canada, 1971, 1981 and 1982 and Change Between 1971 and 1981**

| Causes | 35 - 39 | 40 - 44 | 45 - 49 | 50 - 54 | 55 - 59 | 60 - 64 | 65 - 69 | 70 - 74 | 75 - 79 | 80 - 84 | 85 + |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Males** | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ischaemic heart disease (Causes 410 - 414) | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1971 rate | 31 | 94 | 187 | 354 | 581 | 925 | 1,372 | 1,978 | 2,939 | 4,488 | 7,119 |
| 1981 rate | 25 | 67 | 140 | 251 | 415 | 697 | 1,076 | 1,534 | 2,429 | 3,581 | 5,882 |
| 1982 rate | 27 | 59 | 125 | 234 | 400 | 676 | 1,019 | 1,591 | 2,369 | 3,419 | 5,848 |
| Change 1971 - 1981 | 6 | 27 | 47 | 103 | 166 | 228 | 296 | 444 | 510 | 907 | 1,237 |
| % decrease | 19 | 29 | 25 | 29 | 29 | 25 | 22 | 22 | 17 | 20 | 17 |
| Cerebro-vascular disease (Causes 430 - 438) | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1971 rate | – | 11 | 21 | 43 | 70 | 135 | 268 | 504 | 959 | 1,691 | 2,929 |
| 1981 rate | – | 8 | 18 | 27 | 47 | 84 | 179 | 344 | 686 | 1,154 | 2,326 |
| 1982 rate | – | 10 | 13 | 27 | 46 | 79 | 174 | 323 | 640 | 1,037 | 2,175 |
| Change 1971 - 1981 | – | 3 | 3 | 16 | 23 | 51 | 89 | 160 | 273 | 537 | 603 |
| % decrease | – | 27 | 14 | 37 | 33 | 38 | 33 | 32 | 28 | 32 | 21 |
| **Females** | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ischaemic heart disease (Causes 410 - 414) | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1971 rate | – | 14 | 33 | 68 | 134 | 278 | 559 | 997 | 1,744 | 3,080 | 6,184 |
| 1981 rate | – | 14 | 26 | 51 | 108 | 209 | 402 | 739 | 1,299 | 2,233 | 4,694 |
| 1982 rate | – | 10 | 21 | 51 | 98 | 198 | 404 | 723 | 1,307 | 2,251 | 4,596 |
| Change 1971 - 1981 | – | 0 | 7 | 17 | 26 | 69 | 157 | 258 | 445 | 847 | 1,490 |
| % decrease | – | – | 21 | 25 | 19 | 25 | 28 | 26 | 26 | 28 | 24 |
| Cerebro-vascular disease (Causes 430 - 438) | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1971 rate | – | 14 | 20 | 34 | 55 | 94 | 170 | 388 | 783 | 1,503 | 3,038 |
| 1981 rate | – | 9 | 15 | 25 | 38 | 66 | 121 | 253 | 494 | 964 | 2,289 |
| 1982 rate | – | 8 | 16 | 23 | 35 | 57 | 107 | 221 | 462 | 1,007 | 2,734 |
| Change 1971 - 1981 | – | 5 | 5 | 9 | 17 | 28 | 49 | 135 | 289 | 539 | 749 |
| % decrease | – | 36 | 25 | 26 | 31 | 30 | 29 | 35 | 37 | 36 | 25 |

1 Per 100,000.

**Source:** Statistics Canada. *Causes of Death*, Catalogue No. 84-203, Annual.

**TABLE 53. Number and Percentage Distribution of Cancer Deaths (Causes 140 to 208) by Site and Broad Age Group, Canada, 1981 and 1982**

| Site | Year | Under 40 | | 40 - 54 | | 55 - 69 | | 70 + | | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Number | Per-centage | Number | Per-centage | Number | Per-centage | Number | Per-centage | |
| | | | | | | Males | | | | |
| Lip, oral cavity and pharynx (140 - 149) | 1981 | 15 | 1.9 | 90 | 3.8 | 239 | 2.8 | 209 | 2.0 | 553 |
| | 1982 | 14 | 1.8 | 104 | 4.4 | 275 | 3.0 | 206 | 1.8 | 599 |
| Digestive organs (150 - 159) | 1981 | 114 | 14.6 | 687 | 29.2 | 2,488 | 28.9 | 3,443 | 32.2 | 6,732 |
| | 1982 | 124 | 15.9 | 667 | 28.5 | 2,644 | 29.0 | 3,512 | 31.4 | 6,947 |
| Respiratory system (160 - 165) | 1981 | 67 | 8.6 | 870 | 36.9 | 3,550 | 41.3 | 3,088 | 28.9 | 7,575 |
| | 1982 | 68 | 8.7 | 858 | 36.6 | 3,820 | 41.8 | 3,440 | 30.8 | 8,186 |
| Bone, connective tissue, skin and breast (170 - 175) | 1981 | 105 | 13.4 | 91 | 3.9 | 149 | 1.7 | 165 | 1.5 | 510 |
| | 1982 | 93 | 12.0 | 92 | 3.9 | 161 | 1.8 | 155 | 1.4 | 501 |
| Genito-urinary organs (179 - 189) | 1981 | 53 | 6.8 | 138 | 5.9 | 914 | 10.6 | 2,390 | 22.3 | 3,495 |
| | 1982 | 46 | 5.9 | 162 | 6.9 | 940 | 10.3 | 2,383 | 21.3 | 3,531 |
| Lymphatic and blood cancer (200 - 208) | 1981 | 269 | 34.4 | 264 | 11.2 | 641 | 7.5 | 845 | 7.9 | 2,019 |
| | 1982 | 259 | 33.3 | 237 | 10.1 | 669 | 7.3 | 907 | 8.1 | 2,073 |
| Other (190 - 199) | 1981 | 159 | 20.3 | 216 | 9.2 | 623 | 7.2 | 558 | 5.2 | 1,556 |
| | 1982 | 174 | 22.4 | 224 | 9.6 | 619 | 6.8 | 583 | 5.2 | 1,600 |
| **Total** | **1981** | **782** | **100** | **2,356** | **100** | **8,604** | **100** | **10,698** | **100** | **22,440** |
| | **1982** | **778** | **100** | **2,344** | **100** | **9,128** | **100** | **11,186** | **100** | **23,436** |
| Horizontal cumulative total | 1981 | | 3.5 | | 14.0 | | 52.3 | | 100 | 100 |
| | 1982 | | 3.3 | | 13.3 | | 52.3 | | 100 | 100 |

**Source:** Statistics Canada, *Causes of Death*, Catalogue No. 84-203, Annual.

**TABLE 53. Number and Percentage Distribution of Cancer Deaths (Causes 140 to 208) by Site and Broad Age Group, Canada, 1981 and 1982 – Concluded**

Female

| Site | Year | Under 40 Number | Under 40 Percentage | 40 - 54 Number | 40 - 54 Percentage | 55 - 69 Number | 55 - 69 Percentage | 70 + Number | 70 + Percentage | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Lip, oral cavity and pharynx (140 - 149) | 1981 | 6 | 0.8 | 27 | 1.1 | 91 | 1.4 | 96 | 1.2 | 220 |
| | 1982 | 11 | 1.3 | 31 | 1.3 | 75 | 1.2 | 106 | 1.2 | 223 |
| Digestive organs (150 - 159) | 1981 | 77 | 10.1 | 472 | 19.4 | 1,843 | 28.5 | 3,402 | 40.9 | 5,794 |
| | 1982 | 95 | 11.2 | 464 | 19.0 | 1,739 | 26.7 | 3,388 | 38.9 | 5,686 |
| Respiratory system (160 - 165) | 1981 | 41 | 5.4 | 397 | 16.3 | 1,075 | 16.6 | 771 | 9.3 | 2,284 |
| | 1982 | 56 | 6.6 | 393 | 16.1 | 1,159 | 17.8 | 937 | 10.8 | 2,545 |
| Bone, connective tissue, skin and breast (170 - 175) | 1981 | 224 | 29.4 | 787 | 32.4 | 1,513 | 23.4 | 1,404 | 16.9 | 3,928 |
| | 1982 | 260 | 30.8 | 840 | 34.3 | 1,551 | 23.8 | 1,387 | 15.9 | 4,038 |
| Genito-urinary organs (179 - 189) | 1981 | 107 | 14.1 | 397 | 16.3 | 990 | 15.3 | 1,195 | 14.4 | 2,689 |
| | 1982 | 126 | 14.9 | 362 | 14.8 | 1,030 | 15.8 | 1,274 | 14.6 | 2,792 |
| Lymphatic and blood cancer (200 - 208) | 1981 | 183 | 24.0 | 169 | 7.0 | 427 | 6.6 | 793 | 9.5 | 1,572 |
| | 1982 | 162 | 19.2 | 171 | 7.0 | 491 | 7.5 | 879 | 10.1 | 1,703 |
| Other (190 - 199) | 1981 | 123 | 16.2 | 182 | 7.5 | 526 | 8.1 | 654 | 7.9 | 1,486 |
| | 1982 | 135 | 16.0 | 186 | 7.6 | 472 | 7.2 | 728 | 8.4 | 1,521 |
| **Total** | **1981** | **761** | **100** | **2,431** | **100** | **6,465** | **100** | **8,315** | **100** | **17,973** |
| | **1982** | **845** | **100** | **2,447** | **100** | **6,517** | **100** | **8,699** | **100** | **18,508** |
| Horizontal total | 1981 | | 4.2 | | 17.8 | | 53.7 | | 100 | 100 |
| | 1982 | | 4.6 | | 17.8 | | 53.9 | | 100 | 100 |

**Source:** Statistics Canada, *Causes of Death*, Catalogue 84-203, Annual.

**TABLE 54. Traffic Accident Deaths and Death Rate by Age Group, (Causes 810-819), Canada, 1971, 1981 and 1982 and percentage change between 1971 and 1981**

| Age group | 1971 Males Number | 1971 Males Rate[1] | 1971 Females Number | 1971 Females Rate[1] | 1981 Males Number | 1981 Males Rate[1] | 1981 Females Number | 1981 Females Rate[1] | 1982 Males Number | 1982 Males Rate[1] | 1982 Females Number | 1982 Females Rate[1] | % change 1971-1981 Males | % change 1971-1981 Females |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 0 - 4 | 103 | 11 | 84 | 9 | 73 | 8 | 53 | 6 | 49 | 5 | 35 | 4 | −55 | −56 |
| 5 - 9 | 203 | 18 | 142 | 13 | 88 | 10 | 64 | 7 | 53 | 6 | 48 | 6 | −67 | −54 |
| 10 - 14 | 177 | 15 | 93 | 8 | 125 | 13 | 44 | 5 | 94 | 10 | 54 | 6 | −33 | −25 |
| 15 - 19 | 668 | 62 | 252 | 24 | 758 | 64 | 220 | 19 | 562 | 49 | 175 | 16 | −21 | −33 |
| 20 - 24 | 797 | 85 | 198 | 21 | 803 | 68 | 194 | 17 | 604 | 51 | 130 | 11 | −40 | −48 |
| 25 - 29 | 378 | 47 | 103 | 13 | 463 | 43 | 134 | 12 | 358 | 32 | 95 | 8 | −32 | −38 |
| 30 - 34 | 257 | 39 | 60 | 5 | 327 | 32 | 87 | 9 | 225 | 22 | 68 | 7 | −44 | +40 |
| 35 - 39 | 218 | 34 | 79 | 13 | 214 | 26 | 50 | 6 | 134 | 15 | 74 | 9 | −56 | −31 |
| 40 - 44 | 195 | 30 | 73 | 12 | 172 | 25 | 59 | 9 | 125 | 18 | 56 | 8 | −40 | −33 |
| 45 - 49 | 201 | 33 | 75 | 12 | 170 | 27 | 57 | 9 | 137 | 22 | 45 | 7 | −33 | −42 |
| 50 - 54 | 171 | 33 | 62 | 12 | 153 | 25 | 72 | 12 | 109 | 17 | 43 | 7 | −48 | −42 |
| 55 - 59 | 165 | 35 | 75 | 16 | 139 | 24 | 50 | 8 | 113 | 20 | 56 | 9 | −29 | −44 |
| 60 - 64 | 135 | 35 | 78 | 20 | 125 | 27 | 66 | 13 | 79 | 16 | 60 | 11 | −54 | −45 |
| 65 - 69 | 132 | 45 | 76 | 23 | 119 | 30 | 63 | 14 | 81 | 28 | 65 | 14 | −38 | −39 |
| 70 - 74 | 95 | 46 | 51 | 20 | 81 | 29 | 47 | 13 | 79 | 27 | 60 | 16 | −41 | −20 |
| 75 - 79 | 66 | 47 | 46 | 25 | 58 | 32 | 52 | 21 | 58 | 31 | 37 | 14 | −34 | −44 |
| 80 - 84 | 47 | 55 | 27 | 23 | 35 | 37 | 30 | 19 | 44 | 44 | 27 | 16 | −20 | −30 |
| 85 + | 21 | 38 | 13 | 16 | 32 | 50 | 18 | 14 | 24 | 37 | 10 | 7 | −3 | −56 |
| N.S. | 5 | | 3 | | 5 | | 1 | | 6 | | 1 | | | |
| **Total** | **4,029** | | **1,587** | | **3,935** | | **1,360** | | **2,934** | | **1,139** | | | |
| Standardized rate[2] | | 39 | | 15 | | 32 | | 11 | | 24 | | 9 | −38 | −40 |

1 Per 100,000.
2 1976 Canadian population.

**Source:** Statistics Canada, *Causes of Death*, Catalogue, No. 84-203.

**TABLE 55. Suicide Mortality Rates,[1] Canada, 1950, 1976, 1981 and 1982**

| Age group | | 1950[2] | 1976[2] | 1981[2] | 1982 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 15 - 19 | M. | 3.9 | 18.6 | 20.3 | 21.5 |
| | F. | 1.8 | 4.5 | 3.8 | 3.2 |
| 20 - 24 | M. | 8.8 | 33.6 | 32.1 | 32.0 |
| | F. | 3.2 | 7.7 | 6.5 | 6.2 |
| 25 - 29 | M. | 7.6 | 28.1 | 28.9 | 33.2 |
| | F. | 3.9 | 8.6 | 7.5 | 8.0 |
| 30 - 34 | M. | 10.4 | 24.3 | 26.6 | 28.2 |
| | F. | 3.8 | 10.4 | 8.0 | 8.0 |
| 35 - 39 | M. | 13.2 | 25.2 | 24.7 | 24.4 |
| | F. | 4.6 | 10.9 | 8.6 | 10.0 |
| 40 - 44 | M. | 19.6 | 27.3 | 26.2 | 26.8 |
| | F. | 6.4 | 10.8 | 10.4 | 9.9 |
| 45 - 49 | M. | 21.6 | 29.3 | 29.1 | 30.5 |
| | F. | 7.2 | 14.0 | 12.4 | 10.5 |
| 50 - 54 | M. | 26.4 | 32.7 | 29.7 | 32.6 |
| | F. | 8.3 | 13.4 | 13.6 | 11.7 |
| 55 - 59 | M. | 27.2 | 26.6 | 29.6 | 32.3 |
| | F. | 7.3 | 13.7 | 12.3 | 12.9 |
| 60 - 64 | M. | 30.8 | 24.1 | 27.2 | 27.6 |
| | F. | 9.0 | 11.9 | 11.2 | 8.5 |
| 65 - 69 | M. | 28.2 | 24.3 | 26.8 | 27.6 |
| | F. | 9.3 | 9.9 | 10.3 | 8.9 |
| 70 - 74 | M. | 29.5 | 26.3 | 30.1 | 33.3 |
| | F. | 6.3 | 8.4 | 9.3 | 7.4 |
| 75 - 79 | M. | 32.8 | 24.9 | 34.4 | 24.7 |
| | F. | 5.9 | 5.8 | 7.1 | 6.5 |
| 80 - 84 | M. | 25.1 | 21.2 | 41.7 | 27.1 |
| | F. | 2.0 | 7.3 | 6.9 | 3.0 |

[1] Per 100,000.
[2] Averages for 1950 and 1951, 1975 and 1976, and 1980 and 1981 respectively.

**Source:** Statistics Canada, *Causes of Death*, Catalogue No. 84-203.

TABLE 56. Immigration by Major Classes, Canada, 1970 - 1982

| Year | Total | Family class | | Independent immigrants and assisted relatives | | Refugees and designated classes | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Number | Number | Per-centage | Number | Per-centage | Number | Per-centage |
| 1970 | 147,713 | 32,263 | 21.8 | 115,450[2] | . . . | . . . | . . . |
| 1971 | 121,900 | 33,450 | 27.4 | 88,450[2] | . . . | . . . | . . . |
| 1972 | 122,006 | 33,019 | 27.1 | 83,807 | 68.7 | 5,180 | 4.2 |
| 1973 | 184,200 | 41,677 | 22.6 | 140,164 | 76.1 | 2,359 | 1.3 |
| 1974 | 218,465 | 54,232 | 24.8 | 162,567 | 74.4 | 1,666 | 0.8 |
| 1975 | 187,881 | 64,124 | 34.1 | 118,191 | 62.9 | 5,566 | 3.0 |
| 1976 | 149,429 | 60,830 | 40.7 | 76,848 | 51.4 | 11,751 | 7.9 |
| 1977 | 114,914 | 51,355 | 44.7 | 56,259 | 49.0 | 7,300 | 6.4 |
| 1978 | 86,313 | 45,540 | 52.8 | 36,518 | 42.3 | 4,255 | 4.9 |
| 1979 | 112,096 | 46,763 | 41.7 | 37,454 | 33.4 | 27,879 | 24.9 |
| 1980 | 143,117 | 51,039 | 35.7 | 51,744 | 36.2 | 40,334 | 28.2 |
| 1981 | 128,618 | 51,017 | 40.0 | 62,622 | 48.7 | 14,979 | 11.6 |
| 1982[1] | 121,087 | 49,963 | 41.0 | 54,222 | 44.8 | 16,902 | 14.0 |

[1] Preliminary data.
[2] The ''Refugees and designated classes'' category did not exist at that time.

Source: Employment and Immigration Canada, *Annual Report to Parliament on Immigration Levels*, Catalogue, No. WH-5-037.

## TABLE 57. Immigrant Population by Country of Birth, 1968 - 1982

| | 1968 | 1969 | 1970 | 1971 | 1972 | 1973 | 1974 | 1975 | 1976 | 1977 | 1978 | 1979 | 1980 | 1981 | 1982 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Europe** | 118,791 | 87,842 | 75,006 | 52,733 | 51,175 | 70,080 | 84,780 | 68,733 | 49,470 | 40,967 | 30,003 | 32,633 | 40,210 | 44,784 | 44,356 |
| Great Britain | 33,814 | 28,790 | 23,688 | 14,230 | 16,637 | 23,533 | 33,088 | 29,454 | 19,257 | 16,634 | 10,698 | 11,806 | 16,445 | 18,912 | 14,525 |
| Portugal | 8,720 | 7,917 | 8,594 | 9,776 | 9,280 | 14,417 | 17,268 | 9,158 | 6,194 | 4,238 | 3,420 | 3,742 | 4,222 | 3,292 | 2,308 |
| France | 5,370 | 3,612 | 2,958 | 2,059 | 1,880 | 2,411 | 2,811 | 2,831 | 2,415 | 2,090 | 1,322 | 1,547 | 1,461 | 1,681 | 1,821 |
| Greece | 7,952 | 7,106 | 6,440 | 4,822 | 4,008 | 5,800 | 5,654 | 3,954 | 2,429 | 1,874 | 1,324 | 1,187 | 1,044 | 924 | 884 |
| Italy | 20,880 | 10,685 | 8,659 | 5,937 | 4,847 | 6,176 | 5,818 | 4,919 | 4,008 | 3,088 | 2,647 | 2,134 | 1,873 | 2,057 | 1,496 |
| Other | 42,055 | 29,732 | 24,667 | 15,909 | 14,523 | 17,743 | 20,141 | 18,417 | 15,167 | 13,043 | 10,592 | 12,217 | 15,165 | 17,918 | 23,322 |
| **Africa** | 7,002 | 5,953 | 4,017 | 3,463 | 8,504 | 9,977 | 12,792 | 11,715 | 8,617 | 6,595 | 4,561 | 4,412 | 5,383 | 5,901 | 5,196 |
| Asia | 23,775 | 24,451 | 23,682 | 24,230 | 25,938 | 46,777 | 55,290 | 52,024 | 46,482 | 32,904 | 25,332 | 51,740 | 73,026 | 50,759 | 43,863 |
| Philippines | 2,762 | 3,138 | 3,305 | 4,213 | 4,113 | 6,886 | 9,897 | 7,688 | 6,109 | 6,101 | 4,368 | 3,927 | 6,147 | 5,978 | 5,295 |
| India | 4,675 | 6,736 | 7,089 | 6,301 | 6,746 | 11,672 | 16,016 | 13,401 | 8,562 | 6,772 | 6,077 | 5,486 | 9,531 | 9,415 | 8,858 |
| Hong Kong (C.C.B.) | 3,353 | 3,365 | 2,250 | 2,581 | 3,396 | 9,155 | 7,673 | 6,438 | 6,442 | 3,903 | 2,825 | 3,548 | 3,874 | 4,039 | 4,452 |
| China | 5,401 | 5,610 | 3,397 | 3,694 | 3,813 | 6,842 | 6,581 | 6,235 | 6,003 | 4,037 | 3,181 | 5,821 | 8,965 | 9,798 | 6,295 |
| Other | 7,584 | 5,613 | 7,641 | 7,441 | 7,870 | 12,222 | 15,123 | 18,262 | 19,366 | 12,091 | 8,881 | 32,958 | 44,509 | 21,529 | 18,963 |
| North America | 18,482 | 20,927 | 22,670 | 22,508 | 21,137 | 23,861 | 25,147 | 19,268 | 16,494 | 12,755 | 9,713 | 9,128 | 9,442 | 10,183 | 10,030 |
| West Indies | 8,904 | 13,803 | 13,286 | 11,202 | 8,696 | 19,809 | 24,441 | 18,790 | 15,066 | 11,822 | 8,330 | 6,535 | 7,515 | 8,797 | 8,717 |
| Australasia | 4,145 | 3,523 | 3,462 | 2,182 | 1,646 | 1,893 | 1,928 | 1,574 | 1,367 | 1,147 | 944 | 1,068 | 1,215 | 1,020 | 758 |
| South America | 2,368 | 4,158 | 4,506 | 4,598 | 4,036 | 10,353 | 12,204 | 13,102 | 10,496 | 7,774 | 6,682 | 5,810 | 5,381 | 6,114 | 6,892 |
| Oceania | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1,183 |
| Other | 507 | 874 | 1,084 | 984 | 874 | 1,450 | 1,882 | 2,675 | 1,437 | 950 | 724 | 736 | 944 | 1,024 | 152 |
| **Total** | 183,974 | 161,531 | 147,713 | 121,900 | 122,006 | 184,200 | 218,464 | 187,881 | 149,429 | 114,914 | 86,289 | 112,062 | 143,116 | 128,582[1] | 121,147 |

1 The total differs from the sum of the column because of immigrants whose country of birth is unknown.

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TABLE 58. Age-sex Distribution per 1,000 Immigrants to Canada, 1970 and 1980

| Age | 1970 | | 1980 | | 1970 - 80 average | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Males | Females | Males | Females | Males | Females |
| 0 - 4 | 43 | 40 | 35 | 32 | 40 | 38 |
| 5 - 9 | 39 | 37 | 42 | 38 | 44 | 41 |
| 10 - 14 | 26 | 25 | 42 | 37 | 35 | 33 |
| 15 - 19 | 33 | 40 | 57 | 49 | 40 | 44 |
| 20 - 24 | 106 | 123 | 74 | 75 | 79 | 95 |
| 25 - 29 | 105 | 87 | 72 | 66 | 90 | 82 |
| 30 - 34 | 60 | 46 | 50 | 46 | 55 | 46 |
| 35 - 39 | 34 | 25 | 29 | 25 | 33 | 26 |
| 40 - 44 | 19 | 16 | 19 | 17 | 19 | 17 |
| 45 - 49 | 10 | 11 | 13 | 17 | 12 | 14 |
| 50 - 54 | 6 | 9 | 15 | 23 | 9 | 15 |
| 55 - 59 | 6 | 10 | 17 | 24 | 9 | 16 |
| 60 - 64 | 6 | 10 | 16 | 18 | 12 | 15 |
| 65 + | 5 | 9 | 10 | 16 | 6 | 14 |

Source: Employment Immigration Canada, *op. cit.*

## TABLE 59. Demographic Accounts of Provinces and Territories, 1951 - 1983 – Continued

| Year | Population[1] | Total increase[2] | Births[2] | Deaths[2] | Natural increase | Net migration[2,3] |
|------|---------------|-------------------|-----------|-----------|------------------|--------------------|
| New Brunswick | | | | | | |
| 1951 | 515,700[4] | | | | | |
| 1971 | 634,600[4] | 6,000[5] | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . |
| 1972 | 640,100[6] | 5,500 | 12,000 | 5,000 | 7,000 | – 1,500 |
| 1973 | 647,100[6] | 7,000 | 11,600 | 5,000 | 6,600 | 400 |
| 1974 | 653,600[6] | 6,500 | 11,300 | 5,100 | 6,200 | 300 |
| 1975 | 665,200[6] | 11,600 | 11,700 | 5,200 | 6,500 | 5,100 |
| 1976 | 667,200[4] | 2,000 | 11,800 | 5,200 | 6,600 | – 4,600 |
| 1977 | 684,100[6] | 16,900 | 11,800 | 5,100 | 6,700 | 10,200 |
| 1978 | 688,100[6] | 4,000 | 11,100 | 5,200 | 5,900 | – 1,900 |
| 1979 | 691,900[6] | 3,800 | 10,800 | 5,100 | 5,700 | – 1,900 |
| 1980 | 695,400[6] | 3,500 | 10,800 | 5,300 | 5,500 | – 2,000 |
| 1981 | 696,400[3] | 1,000 | 10,600 | 5,200 | 5,400 | – 4,400 |
| 1982 | 699,100[7] | 2,700 | 10,800[8] | 5,200[8] | 5,600[8] | – 2,900[8] |
| 1983 | 706,700[7] | 7,600 | 10,500[8] | 5,400[8] | 5,100[8] | 2,500[8] |
| Quebec | | | | | | |
| 1951 | 4,055,700[4] | | | | | |
| 1971 | 6,027,800[4] | 98,600[5] | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . |
| 1972 | 6,053,600[6] | 25,800 | 86,400 | 41,400 | 45,000 | – 19,200 |
| 1973 | 6,078,900[6] | 25,300 | 83,400 | 42,300 | 41,100 | – 15,800 |
| 1974 | 6,122,700[6] | 43,800 | 83,800 | 42,900 | 40,900 | 2,900 |
| 1975 | 6,179,000[6] | 56,300 | 89,000 | 44,400 | 44,600 | 11,700 |
| 1976 | 6,234,400[4] | 55,400 | 98,600 | 42,500 | 56,100 | – 700 |
| 1977 | 6,284,000[6] | 49,600 | 94,100 | 43,100 | 51,000 | – 1,400 |
| 1978 | 6,302,400[6] | 18,400 | 94,700 | 43,700 | 51,000 | – 32,600 |
| 1979 | 6,338,900[6] | 36,500 | 98,100 | 42,500 | 55,600 | – 19,100 |
| 1980 | 6,386,100[6] | 47,200 | 98,500 | 44,100 | 54,400 | – 7,200 |
| 1981 | 6,438,400[3] | 52,300 | 96,800 | 42,700 | 54,100 | – 1,800 |
| 1982 | 6,482,400[7] | 44,000 | 94,300[8] | 43,500[8] | 50,800[8] | – 6,800[8] |
| 1983 | 6,521,600[7] | 39,200 | 93,100[8] | 44,000[8] | 49,100[8] | – 9,900[8] |
| Ontario | | | | | | |
| 1951 | 4,597,500[4] | | | | | |
| 1971 | 7,703,100[4] | 155,300[5] | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . |
| 1972 | 7,809,900[6] | 106,800 | 127,100 | 57,500 | 69,600 | 37,200 |
| 1973 | 7,908,800[6] | 98,900 | 124,000 | 58,800 | 65,200 | 33,700 |
| 1974 | 8,054,100[6] | 145,300 | 122,900 | 60,400 | 62,500 | 82,800 |
| 1975 | 8,172,200[6] | 118,100 | 126,500 | 61,200 | 65,300 | 52,800 |
| 1976 | 8,264,500[4] | 92,300 | 123,600 | 60,600 | 63,000 | 29,300 |
| 1977 | 8,353,100[6] | 88,600 | 122,700 | 60,300 | 62,400 | 26,200 |
| 1978 | 8,439,600[6] | 86,500 | 122,000 | 62,000 | 60,000 | 26,500 |
| 1979 | 8,501,300[6] | 61,700 | 121,700 | 60,300 | 61,400 | 300 |
| 1980 | 8,569,700[6] | 68,400 | 121,800 | 62,800 | 59,000 | 9,400 |
| 1981 | 8,625,100[3] | 55,400 | 123,000 | 62,600 | 60,400 | 5,000 |
| 1982 | 8,715,800[7] | 90,700 | 122,200[8] | 62,700[8] | 59,500[8] | 31,200[8] |
| 1983 | 8,815,900[7] | 100,100 | 122,900[8] | 63,100[8] | 59,800[8] | 40,300[8] |

See footnote(s) at end of table.

## TABLE 59. Demographic Accounts of Provinces and Territories, 1951 - 1983 – Continued

| Year | Population[1] | Total increase[2] | Births[2] | Deaths[2] | Natural increase | Net migration[2,3] |
|------|------------|----------------|---------|---------|-------------------|----------------|
| | | | Manitoba | | | |
| 1951 | 776,500[4] | | : | | | |
| 1971 | 988,200[4] | 10,600[5] | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . |
| 1972 | 991,200[6] | 3,000 | 17,700 | 8,000 | 9,700 | − 6,700 |
| 1973 | 996,200[6] | 5,000 | 17,100 | 8,300 | 8,800 | − 3,800 |
| 1974 | 1,007,500[6] | 11,300 | 17,000 | 8,400 | 8,600 | 2,700 |
| 1975 | 1,013,600[6] | 6,100 | 17,300 | 8,400 | 8,900 | − 2,800 |
| 1976 | 1,021,500[4] | 7,900 | 17,200 | 8,300 | 8,900 | − 1,000 |
| 1977 | 1,027,400[6] | 5,900 | 16,600 | 8,200 | 8,400 | − 2,500 |
| 1978 | 1,032,000[6] | 4,600 | 16,800 | 8,200 | 8,600 | − 4,000 |
| 1979 | 1,028,000[6] | − 4,000 | 16,400 | 8,200 | 8,200 | − 12,200 |
| 1980 | 1,024,900[6] | − 3,100 | 16,000 | 8,400 | 7,600 | − 10,700 |
| 1981 | 1,026,200[3] | 1,300 | 16,000 | 8,300 | 7,700 | − 6,400 |
| 1982 | 1,035,200[7] | 9,000 | 16,400[8] | 8,700[8] | 7,700[8] | 1,300[8] |
| 1983 | 1,047,200[7] | 12,000 | 16,800[8] | 8,500[8] | 8,300[8] | 3,700[8] |
| | | | Saskatchewan | | | |
| 1951 | 831,700[4] | | | | | |
| 1971 | 926,200[4] | 4,700[5] | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . |
| 1972 | 914,000[6] | − 12,200 | 15,700 | 7,500 | 8,200 | − 20,400 |
| 1973 | 904,500[6] | − 9,500 | 15,200 | 7,600 | 7,600 | − 17,100 |
| 1974 | 899,700[6] | − 4,800 | 14,800 | 7,800 | 7,000 | − 11,800 |
| 1975 | 907,400[6] | 7,700 | 15,100 | 7,700 | 7,400 | 300 |
| 1976 | 921,300[4] | 13,900 | 15,700 | 7,800 | 7,900 | 6,000 |
| 1977 | 934,900[6] | 13,600 | 16,300 | 7,900 | 8,400 | 5,200 |
| 1978 | 943,500[6] | 8,600 | 16,400 | 7,600 | 8,800 | − 200 |
| 1979 | 951,300[6] | 7,800 | 16,900 | 7,400 | 9,500 | − 1,700 |
| 1980 | 959,400[6] | 8,100 | 16,900 | 7,600 | 9,300 | − 1,200 |
| 1981 | 968,300[3] | 8,900 | 17,100 | 7,500 | 9,600 | − 700 |
| 1982 | 979,400[7] | 11,100 | 17,200[8] | 7,500[8] | 9,700[8] | 1,400[8] |
| 1983 | 992,700[7] | 13,300 | 16,900[8] | 7,600[8] | 9,300[8] | 4,000[8] |
| | | | Alberta | | | |
| 1951 | 939,500[4] | | | | | |
| 1971 | 1,627,900[4] | 34,400[5] | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . |
| 1972 | 1,657,300[6] | 29,400 | 29,600 | 10,700 | 18,900 | 10,500 |
| 1973 | 1,689,500[6] | 32,200 | 29,600 | 10,800 | 18,800 | 13,400 |
| 1974 | 1,722,400[6] | 32,900 | 29,100 | 10,900 | 18,200 | 14,700 |
| 1975 | 1,778,300[6] | 55,900 | 30,500 | 11,400 | 19,100 | 36,800 |
| 1976 | 1,838,000[4] | 59,700 | 32,400 | 11,500 | 20,900 | 38,800 |
| 1977 | 1,912,700[6] | 74,700 | 33,800 | 11,400 | 22,400 | 52,300 |
| 1978 | 1,983,100[6] | 70,400 | 34,700 | 11,800 | 22,900 | 47,500 |
| 1979 | 2,052,800[6] | 69,700 | 36,100 | 12,000 | 24,100 | 45,600 |
| 1980 | 2,140,600[6] | 87,800 | 37,800 | 12,300 | 25,500 | 62,300 |
| 1981 | 2,237,700[3] | 91,100 | 41,000 | 12,600 | 28,400 | 68,700 |
| 1982 | 2,317,000[7] | 79,300 | 41,700[8] | 12,300[8] | 29,400[8] | 49,900[8] |
| 1983 | 2,350,000[7] | 33,000 | 40,900[8] | 12,500[8] | 28,400[8] | 4,600[8] |

See footnote(s) at end of table.

**TABLE 59. Demographic Accounts of Provinces and Territories
1951 - 1983 – Concluded**

| Year | Population[1] | Total increase[2] | Births[2] | Deaths[2] | Natural increase | Net migration[2,3] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | British Columbia | | | |
| 1951 | 1,165,200[4] | | | | | |
| 1971 | 2,184,600[4] | 51,000[5] | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . |
| 1972 | 2,241,400[6] | 56,800 | 34,400 | 17,700 | 16,700 | 40,100 |
| 1973 | 2,302,400[6] | 61,000 | 34,600 | 18,000 | 16,600 | 44,400 |
| 1974 | 2,375,700[6] | 73,300 | 34,500 | 18,600 | 15,900 | 57,400 |
| 1975 | 2,433,200[6] | 57,500 | 36,100 | 19,500 | 16,600 | 40,900 |
| 1976 | 2,466,600[4] | 33,400 | 36,200 | 19,200 | 17,000 | 16,400 |
| 1977 | 2,499,400[6] | 32,800 | 35,900 | 18,300 | 17,600 | 15,200 |
| 1978 | 2,542,300[6] | 42,900 | 36,100 | 18,800 | 17,300 | 25,600 |
| 1979 | 2,589,400[6] | 47,100 | 38,000 | 19,100 | 18,900 | 28,200 |
| 1980 | 2,666,000[6] | 76,600 | 38,900 | 19,200 | 19,700 | 6,900 |
| 1981 | 2,744,500[3] | 78,500 | 40,700 | 19,700 | 21,000 | 57,500 |
| 1982 | 2,790,300[7] | 45,600 | 41,400[8] | 19,700[8] | 21,700[8] | 23,900[8] |
| 1983 | 2,823,900[7] | 33,800 | 40,900[8] | 20,200[8] | 20,700[8] | 13,100[8] |
| | | | Yukon | | | |
| 1951 | 9,100[4] | | | | | |
| 1971 | 18,400[4] | 500[5] | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . |
| 1972 | 19,500[6] | 1,100 | 500 | 100 | 400 | 700 |
| 1973 | 20,500[6] | 1,000 | 500 | 100 | 400 | 600 |
| 1974 | 20,500[6] | 0 | 400 | 100 | 300 | − 300 |
| 1975 | 21,300[6] | 800 | 500 | 100 | 400 | 400 |
| 1976 | 21,800[4] | 500 | 400 | 100 | 300 | 200 |
| 1977 | 21,800[6] | 0 | 500 | 100 | 300 | − 300 |
| 1978 | 22,500[6] | 700 | 400 | 100 | 300 | 400 |
| 1979 | 22,300[6] | − 200 | 500 | 100 | 400 | − 600 |
| 1980 | 22,300[6] | 0 | 500 | 100 | 400 | − 400 |
| 1981 | 23,200[3] | 900 | 500 | 100 | 400 | 500 |
| 1982 | 23,700[7] | 500 | 600[8] | 100[8] | 500[8] | 0[8] |
| 1983 | 22,300[7] | − 1,400 | 600[8] | 100[8] | 500[8] | − 1,900[8] |
| | | | Northwest Territories | | | |
| 1951 | 16,000[4] | | | | | |
| 1971 | 34,800[4] | 900[5] | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . |
| 1972 | 37,300[6] | 2,500 | 1,300 | 200 | 1,100 | 1,400 |
| 1973 | 39,400[6] | 2,100 | 1,200 | 300 | 900 | 1,200 |
| 1974 | 39,600[6] | 200 | 1,100 | 200 | 900 | 700 |
| 1975 | 41,200[6] | 1,600 | 1,100 | 200 | 900 | 700 |
| 1976 | 42,600[4] | 1,400 | 1,200 | 200 | 1,000 | 400 |
| 1977 | 42,800[6] | 200 | 1,200 | 200 | 1,000 | − 800 |
| 1978 | 43,600[6] | 800 | 1,200 | 200 | 1,000 | − 200 |
| 1979 | 44,000[6] | 400 | 1,200 | 200 | 1,000 | − 600 |
| 1980 | 44,700[6] | 700 | 1,300 | 200 | 1,100 | − 400 |
| 1981 | 45,700[3] | 1,000 | 1,300 | 200 | 1,100 | − 100 |
| 1982 | 47,200[7] | 1,500 | 1,200[8] | 200[8] | 1,000[8] | 500[8] |
| 1983 | 48,400[7] | 1,200 | 1,100[8] | 200[8] | 900[8] | 300[8] |

[1] On June 1.
[2] From June 1 of the preceding year to May 31 of the year in question.
[3] Average annual growth, June 1, 1951 to June 1, 1971.
[4] Census data for Canada.
[5] Difference between total increase and natural increase.
[6] Final intercensal estimate.
[7] Preliminary postcensal estimate.
[8] Preliminary data.

**Nota:** Value rounded to the nearest hundred.

**Source:** Statistics Canada, Censuses of Canada and *Estimates of Population for Canada and Provinces*, Catalogue No. 91-201.

# Glossary

**Census Agglomeration (CA)**: The main labour market of a continuous built-up area having between 10,000 and 99,999 population.

**Census Metropolitan Area (CMA)**: The main labour market of a continuous built-up area of not less than 100,000 population.

**Census year**: A neologism patterned after "fiscal year". In Canada, it refers to the 12-month period between June 1 of one year to May 31 of the following year. It can equally designate the year during which a census is held.

**Cohort**: A group of individuals or couples who experience the same event during a specified period. For example, there are birth cohorts and marriage cohorts.

**Cohort, fictitious**: An artificial cohort created from portions of actual cohorts present at different successive ages in the same year.

**Crude rate**: Relates certain events to the size of the entire population. For example, the crude birth rate for Canada is the ratio of the number of births in Canada in a year to the size of the Canadian population at mid-year. Crude death rates and crude divorce rates are calculated in the same way.

**Current index**: An index constructed from measurements of demographic phenomena and based on the events reflecting those phenomena during a given period, usually a year. For example, life expectancy in 1981 is a current index in the sense that it indicates the average number of years a person would live if he or she experienced 1981 conditions throughout his or her life.

**Dependency ratio**: Ratio denoting the dependency on the working population of some or all of the non-working population.

**Depopulation**: The decline in the population of an area through an excess of deaths over births (not to be confused with the depletion of an area through emigration).

**Fertility**: Relates the number of live births to the number of women, couples or, very rarely, men.

**Frequency**: Frequency of occurrence within a cohort of the events characterizing a particular phenomenon.

**Infant mortality**: Mortality of children less than a year old.

**Intercensal**: Refers to the period between two censuses.

**Modal**: Pertaining to the mode. For example, in the distribution of deaths in a life table, the modal age is the one at which the number of deaths is highest.

**Mode**: The most frequent value in a set of observations.

**Natural increase**: A change in population size over a given period as a result of the difference between the numbers of births and deaths.

**Neonatal mortality**: Mortality in the first month after birth (part of infant mortality).

**Net migration**: Difference between immigration and emigration for a given area and period of time.

**Nulliparous**: Pertaining to a woman or a marriage of zero parity (which has not produced a child).

**Parity**: A notion used in reference to a woman or a marriage to denote the number of births or deliveries by the woman or in the marriage. A two-parity woman is a woman who has given birth to a second-order child.

**Population growth**: A change, either positive or negative, in population size over a given period.

**Population movement**: Gradual change in population status over a given period attributable to the demographic events occurring during the period. Movement here is not a synonym for migration.

**Post-neonatal mortality**: Mortality between the ages of one month and one year.

**Probability of survival**: Probability at exact age x of surviving to not less than exact age x + a; denoted $_ap_x$. It is the complement of the probability of death $(1-_aq_x)$.

**Rate**: Ratio of the events occurring in a population in a given period to the average population during that period.

**Sex ratio**: Ratio of males to females in a given population. It is usually expressed as the number of males per 100 females.

**Structure**: Composition of a population based on demographic characteristics such as age, sex, marital status, and so on.

**Timing**: Distribution over time of the events characterizing a particular phenomenon within a cohort. Its purpose is to indicate the rate at which the events occur. Mean or median age and mean or median duration are often used to measure the "timing" of events.

**Total fertility, divorce, nuptiality rate**: The sum of age-specific rates during a given period. It is one of the most commonly used current indexes. It represents the behaviour of a fictitious cohort.

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# Current Demographic Analysis

## Report on the Demographic Situation in Canada 1986

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with the collaboration **of Réjean Lachapelle**
Social and Economic Studies Division

# Symbols

..  figures not available.
... figures not appropriate or not applicable.
–   nil or zero.
– – amount too small to be expressed.

The last data analysed in this report were those available at time of writing.

# Preface

Though demographic trends are not subject to rapid and dramatic fluctuations, it is important to recognize those changes which are likely to have long-term implications. In the three years since the publication of the *Demographic Situation in Canada, 1983,* some trends have been confirmed, others have changed course, and new patterns have emerged. The present report highlights a number of important demographic developments.

In recent years, the incidence of both marriage and divorce has declined, but that of common-law union formation has increased. Several years of precipitous decline in fertility have given way to stability, but at a level that is insufficient to ensure the renewal of generations. Important changes in internal migration have taken place in recent years: Quebec has returned to a near balance in population exchanges, while Ontario has regained its strong attraction for migrants. Other significant demographic developments include the continuation of the decline in deaths due to motor vehicle accidents, and unexpected progress in male longevity.

Ivan P. Fellegi
Chief Statistician of Canada

# ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

# HIGHLIGHTS

The population of Canada, according to the 1986 final census counts, was 25,354,064 persons, yielding an average annual growth rate since the 1981 Census of 0.84%. This is the lowest growth rate in Canada's modern history. From a high of about 3% in the 1950s, the average annual rate of increase fell gradually to 2% in the 1960s, and to 1.3% in the 1970s. One has to go back to the Great Depression of the 1930s to find such a low rate of increase.

Underlying this slowdown is a significant shift in the determinants of population growth. In the 1960s and partly in the 1970s, the deceleration in growth was due primarily to a rapid decline in birth rates – from about 28 births per 1,000 population in the late 1950s, to about 16 per 1,000 in the late 1970s. The birth rate subsequently stabilized at about 15 per 1,000, whereupon the decline in number of immigrants – from 135,000 in 1981-82 to 85,000 in 1985-86 – became the most important factor in the deceleration of growth.

<div align="center">XXX</div>

The aging of the Canadian population began later than that in Europe, but aging here is proceeding at a more rapid pace. To the low level of fertility, which is the main determinant of aging, is added the increase in life expectancy at retirement age and beyond. The number of persons in Canada aged 75 and over has increased by 140 percent in ten years, and now stands at more than one million.

<div align="center">XXX</div>

The current pattern of fertility is characterized by stability at the national level. The total fertility rate (TFR), over the first half of the 1980s, has hovered around 1.7 births per woman – below the replacement level of 2.1 required to ensure the renewal of generations. An increasing percentage of women are having their first child after the age of 30, reflecting the emergence of an older pattern of childbearing. Quebec, with a TFR of 1.4, exhibits the lowest fertility rate of all the provinces. A cohort analysis of childbearing for Canadian-born women reveals that at least some of the youngest birth cohorts of women (those born after 1952) will not yield enough births to replace themselves.

<div align="center">XXX</div>

Nuptiality (the rate of marriage) continues to decline, and Quebec exhibits the lowest rate among the provinces. In terms of divorce, 14 years of uninterrupted annual increases in both absolute numbers and rates have given way to annual decreases beginning in 1983. In contrast, there has been a significant rise in the incidence of common-law union formation.

The last half of the decade of the seventies saw an unexpected increase in longevity, with the current trend pointing towards a larger relative contribution from mortality reduction at advanced ages. In 1981, newborn females could expect to live for 78.98 years, while males could expect 71.88 years. For the first time ever in Canada, however, the gain in life expectancy over a five-year period (1976-1981) was greater for males than for females.

Over a recent 10-year period, the percentage increase for certain smoking-related cancers was more than three times higher for females than for males. Of all the recent and unexpected changes in mortality patterns, the most striking has been the drop in deaths due to motor vehicle accidents. Mortality from this cause plummeted by more than forty percent over a ten-year period, and is still in decline.

<center>XXX</center>

Population movements, both into and within Canada, have recently hit very low levels by historical standards. The number of immigrants to Canada in 1985 was among the lowest of any year in the post-war era. The average age of immigrants has increased, and 1984 marked the first time ever that Canada admitted more immigrants at retirement age and over than immigrants under 5 years of age.

Internal migration has returned to more traditional patterns following the slowdown in the oil-boom in Western Canada. Ontario, Canada's most populous province, has regained its strong attraction for migrants. In Alberta, the recent population outflows have given way to a return to near equilibrium in exchanges with other areas of the country. The recent turnaround in the net migration picture in Quebec is noteworthy. After several years of heavy losses, Quebec has almost reached parity between out- and in-migration. As a region, the Atlantic Provinces has returned to a negative net migration scenario. Of special note is the fact that British Columbia, for the first time, recently recorded a period of negative net migration.

<center>XXX</center>

Since 1971, the share of anglophones in the country as a whole has increased, whereas that of francophones has diminished. The proportion of the latter, however, has increased in all areas where francophones already constituted a majority of the population.

During the years preceding 1971, as well as in the decade ending in 1981, linguistic transfer favoured the English language — even in the province of Quebec. With few exceptions, however, internal migration gave an advantage to the French language, in relative terms, in the three quinquennial periods between 1966 and 1981.

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**PART II**

**CHILDBEARING PERFORMANCE OF MARRIED CANADIAN-BORN WOMEN**

**THE STRENGTHENING OF MAJORITY POSITIONS**

PART I

# POPULATION GROWTH

## National

The population of Canada, according to the final 1986 Census counts[1], was 25,354,064 persons. The average annual growth rate since the 1981 Census, on the basis of these figures, is 0.84%, the lowest rate of growth in recent history (Table 1). As low as the current rate of growth is, it is not entirely without precedent. At the advent of World War I, as well as during the Great Depression of the thirties, growth either dipped below, as in the current period, or was at the threshold of, the 1% level.

In examining the pattern of population growth in Canada since the beginning of this century it is evident that relatively low growth has been the norm, although two periods with exceptionally high growth rates stand out: the years preceding World War I, and the roughly 15 years of the post-World War II "baby-boom" (Chart 1). Both of these periods displayed the phenomenon of concurrently high fertility and high international immigration, coupled with low rates of emigration.

The annual growth rate peaked at 3.29% in 1956-57, and remained at a high level until the start of the decade of the 1960's. Growth then declined to low levels in tandem with, and in response to, the decline in fertility. Since then, the small fluctuations in the level of growth have been determined primarily by movements in international migration.

The net effect of declining fertility, when coupled with an increase in the number of women in the reproductive years, is that the number of births has varied little over the last dozen years. On the other hand, progress against mortality has provided a hedge against the rise in the number of deaths which accompanies an aging population. The overall result has been a noticeable stability in natural increase[2] (varying between the highest value of 202,900 and the lowest value of 176,000, over the past 12 years).

Further observations include the fact that periods of slow growth in Canada have historically been associated with economic downturns, leading to a feeling of uneasiness about sustained periods of low growth. It also appears that low levels of immigration have frequently coincided, on average, with periods characterized by low birth rates (Chart 2).

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[1] The analyses of demographic change in this report are based on the estimated population of Canada as of June 1, 1986 since these were the only detailed figures available at the time of writing.

[2] For definitions and explanations of the demographic terminology in this report, the reader may wish to consult, Peron, Yves and Claude Strohmenger, *Demographic and Health Indicators: Presentation and Interpretation.* Statistics Canada, Catalogue 82-543E.

## Table 1. Demographic Accounts of Canada, 1951-1986

| Year[1] | Population at June 1 | Total Annual Increase[1] | Rate of Total Annual Increase[2] | Births[1] | Deaths[1] | Natural Increase[1] | Net Migration[1,3] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1951 | 14,009,400[4] | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 1971 | 21,568,300[4] | 377,900[5] | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 1972 | 21,801 300[6] | 233,000 | 1.07 | 353,500 | 159,100 | 194,400 | 38,600 |
| 1973 | 22,043 000[6] | 241,700 | 1.10 | 345,400 | 162,300 | 183,100 | 58,600 |
| 1974 | 22,363,900[6] | 320,900 | 1.45 | 342,000 | 166,000 | 176,000 | 144,900 |
| 1975 | 22,697,100[6] | 333,200 | 1.48 | 354,200 | 169,200 | 185,000 | 148,200 |
| 1976 | 22,992,600[4] | 295,500 | 1.29 | 363,000 | 166,600 | 196,400 | 99,100 |
| 1977 | 23,272,800[6] | 280,200 | 1.21 | 358,500 | 166,000 | 192,500 | 87,700 |
| 1978 | 23,517,000[6] | 244,200 | 1.04 | 358,500 | 168,500 | 190,000 | 54,200 |
| 1979 | 23,747,300[6] | 230,300 | 0.97 | 364,600 | 165,900 | 198,700 | 31,600 |
| 1980 | 24,042,500[6] | 295,200 | 1.24 | 367,200 | 171,300 | 195,900 | 99,300 |
| 1981 | 24,343,200[4] | 300,700 | 1.24 | 371,500 | 170,300 | 201,200 | 99,500 |
| 1982 | 24,631,800[7] | 288,600 | 1.18 | 372,500 | 172,500 | 200,000 | 88,600 |
| 1983 | 24,884,500[7] | 252,700 | 1.02 | 373,100 | 175,800 | 197,300 | 55,400 |
| 1984 | 25,124,200[7] | 239,600 | 0.96 | 374,700 | 174,200 | 200,500 | 39,100 |
| 1985 | 25,359,800[7] | 235,700 | 0.93 | 380,900 | 178,000 | 202,900 | 32,800 |
| **1986** | **25,591,100[7]** | **231,300** | **0.91** | **376,600** | **182,800** | **193,800** | **37,500** |

[1] From June 1 of the preceding year to May 31 of the year indicated.
[2] Percent.
[3] Difference between total increase and natural increase.
[4] Census data.
[5] Average annual growth, June 1, 1951 to May 31, 1971.
[6] Intercensal estimate.
[7] Preliminary postcensal estimate.
**Sources:** Statistics Canada, Censuses of Canada.
Statistics Canada, Catalogues 91-201 and 91-210 (annual).

## An International Perspective

Even though the growth rate in Canada is considered to be low, it is actually near the top among industrialized countries, and for the period 1980-1984, only Australia had a higher growth rate. Among these countries, seven had zero or negative growth, and the United States, over the same period, experienced lower growth than Canada (Table 2).

Chart 1

# Annual Rate of Growth, Canada, 1867-1984



Rate per 1,000

Rate per 1,000

Source: Table A1.

- 4 -
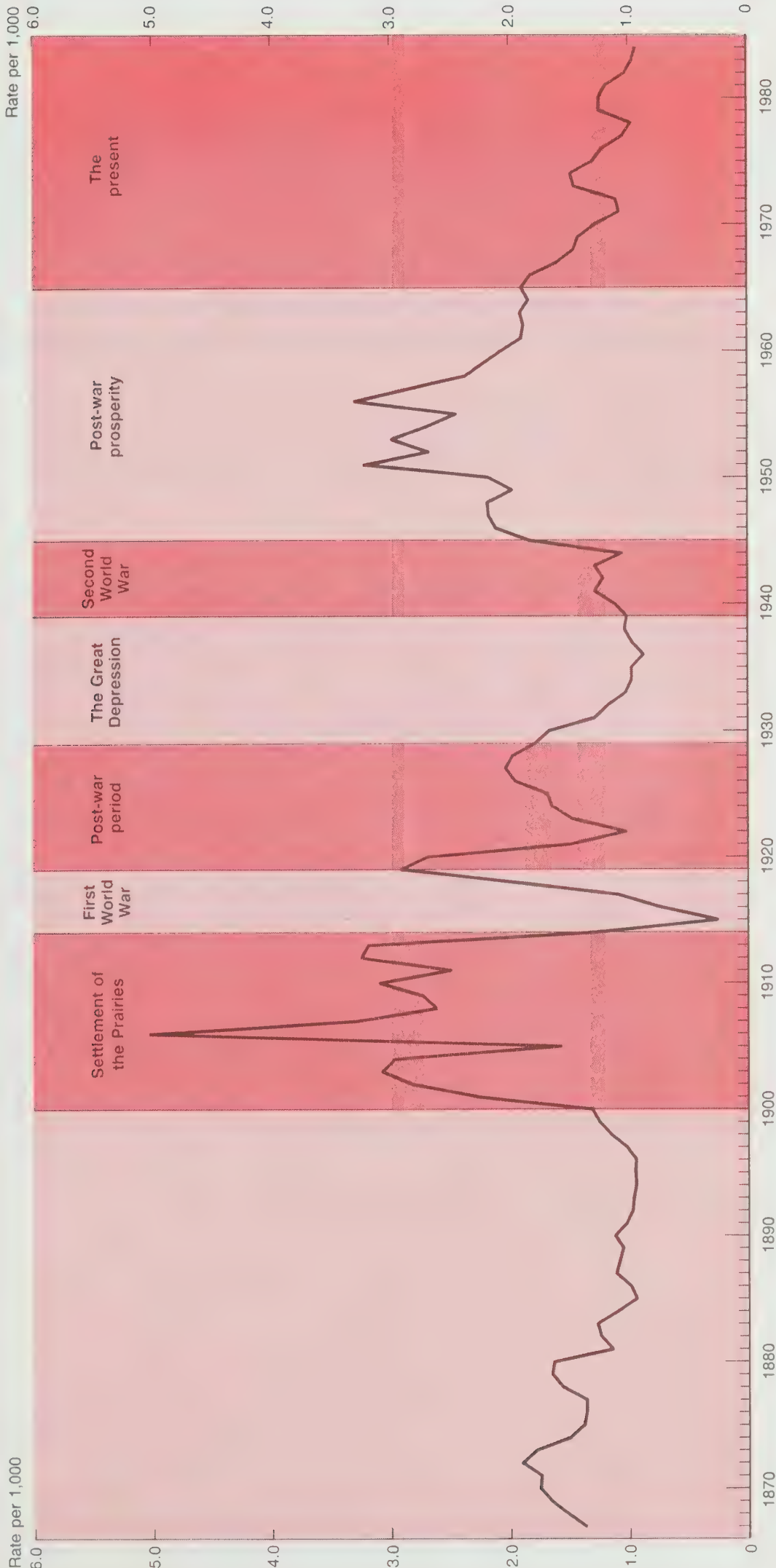
The list of countries with higher growth rates than Canada's doesn't stop at Australia, however. A number of countries in the less developed areas of the world have much higher rates of natural increase and higher overall growth rates than does Canada. This accounts for the change between 1950 and 1984 in the comparative ranking of Canada with other countries in terms of the size of their populations (Table 3). Canada fell back only slightly in its relative rank over the 34 year period, having surpassed the low-fertility, low-growth European countries of Yugoslavia and Romania in size, while having been

Chart 2
**Immigration Rate and Total Fertility Rate, Canada(1), 1901-1983**

Immigration rate per 1,000

Total fertility rate



(1) In calculating the total fertility rate for Canada, Newfoundland has been excluded.
Source: table A2.

surpassed by the high-fertility, high-growth countries of South Africa, Zaire and Columbia (Bangladesh, currently ranked 8th, was not a separate state in 1950). For Canada, this surprising relative stability in rank, especially when considering the very high fertility of the world's underdeveloped nations, is due to the high concentration of the Third World in a few populous nations.

## Provincial Patterns

As for the country as a whole, provincial growth depends on the levels of natural increase and net migration. As the pattern of fertility and mortality become increasingly uniform across the country, regional differences in growth

**Table 2. Average Annual Growth Rate for the 1980-1984 Period Among the World's Largest Industrialized Countries**

| Country | Growth (in%) |
|---|---|
| **Canada** | 1.1 |
| Australia | 1.4 |
| Austria | 0.0 |
| Belgium | 0.1 |
| Bulgaria | 0.3 |
| Czechoslovakia | 0.2 |
| Denmark | −0.1 |
| Federal Republic of Germany | −0.2 |
| France | 0.6 |
| German Democratic Republic | −0.1 |
| Greece | 0.7 |
| Hungary | −0.1 |
| Ireland | 1.0 |
| Japan | 0.7 |
| Luxembourg | −0.1 |
| Netherlands | 0.5 |
| New Zealand | 0.9 |
| Norway | 0.3 |
| Poland | 0.9 |
| Portugal | 0.7 |
| Romania | 0.8 |
| Spain | 0.8 |
| Sweden | 0.1 |
| Switzerland | 0.2 |
| United Kingdom | −0.1 |
| United States | 1.0 |
| U.S.S.R. | 0.9 |
| Yugoslavia | 0.7 |

**Source:** United Nations, *Demographic Yearbook, 1984.*

become, generally, the product of regional variations in international and internal migration. The 1983 report described the changes between 1977 and 1981, and the current report considers the most recent developments in this domain. (Detailed data can be found in Appendix Table A3.)

In 1985-86, the Atlantic Provinces experienced a rate of population increase well below the national level. This was primarily the result of losses through migration, but a decline in natural increase also played a part.

**Table 3. World Population, Canada and Countries with Larger Populations, 1950 and 1984**

| Rank | Country | Population (in thousands) | Rank | Country | Population (in thousands) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | WORLD | 2,504,000 | | WORLD | 4,763,000 |
| 1 | China | 463,500 | 1 | China | 1,051,550 |
| 2 | India | 358,000 | 2 | India | 746,740 |
| 3 | U.S.S.R. | 193,000 | 3 | U.S.S.R. | 275,000 |
| 4 | United States | 151,689 | 4 | United States | 236,680 |
| 5 | Japan | 82,900 | 5 | Indonesia | 159,900 |
| 6 | Pakistan | 75,040 | 6 | Brazil | 132,580 |
| 7 | Indonesia | 73,500 | 7 | Japan | 120,020 |
| 8 | Brazil | 52,124 | 8 | Bangladesh | 96,730 |
| 9 | United Kingdom | 50,616 | 9 | Pakistan | 93,290 |
| 10 | G.D.R. | 47,607 | 10 | Nigeria | 92,040 |
| 11 | Italy | 46,272 | 11 | Mexico | 76,790 |
| 12 | France | 41,934 | 12 | West Germany | 61,180 |
| 13 | Rep. of Korea | 29,500 | 13 | Vietnam | 58,300 |
| 14 | Spain | 28,287 | 14 | Italy | 56,980 |
| 15 | Mexico | 25,368 | 15 | United Kingdom | 56,490 |
| 16 | Vietnam | 25,000 | 16 | France | 54,940 |
| 17 | Poland | 24,977 | 17 | Philippines | 53,350 |
| 18 | Nigeria | 24,000 | 18 | Thailand | 50,400 |
| 19 | Turkey | 20,935 | 19 | Turkey | 48,260 |
| 20 | Egypt | 20,439 | 20 | Egypt | 45,660 |
| 21 | Philippines | 19,557 | 21 | Iran | 43,410 |
| 22 | Iran | 18,772 | 22 | Rep. of Korea | 40,580 |
| 23 | Burma | 18,489 | 23 | Spain | 38,720 |
| 24 | Thailand | 18,313 | 24 | Burma | 37,610 |
| 25 | Argentina | 17,196 | 25 | Poland | 36,910 |
| 26 | Yugoslavia | 16,250 | 26 | Ethiopia | 35,420 |
| 27 | Romania | 16,094 | 27 | Zaire | 32,080 |
| 28 | Ethiopia | 15,000 | 28 | South Africa | 31,590 |
| 29 | Canada | 13,845 | 29 | Argentina | 30,100 |
| | | | 30 | Columbia | 28,220 |
| | | | 31 | Canada | 25,150 |

**Source:** United Nations, *Demographic Yearbook.*

In Quebec, a turnaround in migration flows has meant a larger population increase than has been seen in any of the previous five annual periods, despite a persistent decline in natural increase. The net loss through migration of 13,900 persons in 1982 became progressively smaller in succeeding years, and finally turned positive in 1985-86 with a net gain of 3,900 persons.

Ontario, on the other hand, continued the strong growth trend exhibited during recent periods, due primarily to substantial gains through migration (53,100 in 1985-86). Ontario continues to exert a powerful attraction on migrants and remains the leader in growth.

In the West, population growth in every province and territory, with the exception of Alberta, was lower in 1985-86 than in either 1983-84 or 1984-85. In Saskatchewan, growth dipped to one-third of its 1984-85 level following several years of substantial gains. While still positive, this reduced growth can be attributed to a turnaround in net migration, as a loss in excess of 6,000 persons was recorded in the 1985-86 period. The swing in absolute numbers was not as great in Manitoba, but the year 1985-86 saw a small net loss to migration and a slight drop in natural increase. British Columbia, for the first time, recorded negative net migration (– 1,700 in 1985-86). Its rate of total increase for 1985-86 stood at 0.78%, down from 1.14% for the year before.

In contrast, growth in Alberta rebounded to its earlier levels. The recent and short-lived slowdown in growth, which began in the 1982-83 period, can largely be attributed to migration. After having made large net gains through population exchanges in previous years, Alberta suffered unprecedented net losses for three years in a row during 1982-83, 1983-84 and 1984-85. With a migration balance of almost zero in 1985-86, the full weight of growth in Alberta's population was borne by natural increase. Its 1985-86 rate of increase stands at 1.3%, which, with that of Ontario, is the highest rate recorded in Canada for that year.

Small population declines were recorded in both the Yukon and Northwest Territories in 1985-86, but because of the small numbers involved, these trends should be interpreted with caution.

Table 4 gives a synoptic presentation of the principal demographic indicators for the provinces and territories, as well as for Canada overall.

## POPULATION STRUCTURE

### Age

The aging of a population is a slow process, but one that has tremendous momentum. The Canadian population began to age some time ago, and the

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## Table 4. Rates[1] and Summary Demographic Indicators, Canada, Provinces and Territories, 1981-1985

| | Year | New-found-land | Prince Edward Island | Nova Scotia | New Brunswick | Quebec | Ontario |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Birth Rate (per 1,000) | 1981 | 17.8 | 15.5 | 14.3 | 15.1 | 14.8 | 14.2 |
| | 1982 | 16.1 | 15.7 | 14.5 | 15.0 | 14.0 | 14.3 |
| | 1983 | 15.4 | 15.4 | 14.4 | 14.9 | 13.5 | 14.4 |
| | 1984 | 14.8 | 15.6 | 14.2 | 14.5 | 13.4 | 14.7 |
| | 1985 | 14.6 | 15.8 | 14.1 | 14.1 | 13.1 | 14.6 |
| Total Fertility Rate | 1981 | – | 1.91 | 1.64 | 1.71 | 1.61 | 1.63 |
| | 1982 | – | 1.93 | 1.67 | 1.70 | 1.52 | 1.65 |
| | 1983 | – | 1.89 | 1.66 | 1.69 | 1.47 | 1.66 |
| | 1984 | – | 1.89 | 1.63 | 1.65 | 1.46 | 1.69 |
| | 1985 | – | 1.90 | 1.62 | 1.60 | 1.43 | 1.68 |
| Total First Marriage Rate[2] (per 1,000) | 1981 M | 675.6 | 718.8 | 706.7 | 689.1 | 570.5 | 734.2 |
| | F | 648.4 | 689.6 | 685.2 | 667.6 | 578.0 | 715.9 |
| | 1982 M | 682.5 | 722.5 | 674.6 | 652.4 | 523.4 | 731.2 |
| | F | 646.4 | 665.8 | 658.3 | 645.1 | 535.0 | 723.7 |
| | 1983 M | 661.7 | 795.4 | 655.0 | 672.5 | 492.1 | 705.7 |
| | F | 624.6 | 746.2 | 641.2 | 664.7 | 504.7 | 701.2 |
| | 1984 M | 607.4 | 805.4 | 656.8 | 659.3 | 494.7 | 700.3 |
| | F | 657.1 | 783.6 | 677.3 | 673.4 | 520.6 | 709.8 |
| | 1985 M | 554.6 | 722.5 | 651.0 | 658.7 | 487.8 | 695.0 |
| | F | 532.1 | 731.2 | 661.9 | 668.9 | 515.4 | 708.0 |
| Rate of Natural Increase (per 1,000) | 1981 | 12.2 | 7.4 | 6.7 | 7.7 | 8.2 | 6.9 |
| | 1982 | 10.2 | 7.7 | 6.3 | 7.6 | 7.3 | 7.0 |
| | 1983 | 9.4 | 6.9 | 6.2 | 7.5 | 6.7 | 7.1 |
| | 1984 | 8.7 | 6.7 | 6.3 | 7.1 | 6.6 | 7.4 |
| | 1985 | 8.5 | 7.1 | 5.8 | 6.8 | 6.2 | 7.2 |
| Total Growth Rate (per 1,000) | 1981 | 0.4 | 1.6 | 4.0 | 1.3 | 7.4 | 8.3 |
| | 1982 | 10.7 | 8.1 | 9.2 | 10.7 | 5.0 | 12.7 |
| | 1983 | 7.5 | 13.7 | 11.1 | 10.6 | 5.1 | 12.7 |
| | 1984 | 2.4 | 14.3 | 11.0 | 8.5 | 5.9 | 14.2 |
| | 1985 | 2.6 | 6.3 | 6.4 | 3.6 | 6.9 | 13.0 |
| Net Migration Rate (per 1,000) | 1981 | -11.8 | -5.8 | -2.7 | -6.4 | -0.8 | 1.4 |
| | 1982 | 0.5 | 0.4 | 2.9 | 3.1 | -2.3 | 5.7 |
| | 1983 | -1.9 | 6.8 | 4.9 | 3.1 | -1.6 | 5.6 |
| | 1984 | -6.3 | 7.6 | 4.7 | 1.4 | -0.7 | 6.8 |
| | 1985 | -5.9 | -0.8 | 0.6 | -3.2 | 0.7 | 5.8 |
| Population Aged 65+ as a Percentage of the Total Population on June 1 | 1981 | 7.7 | 12.2 | 10.9 | 10.1 | 8.8 | 10.1 |
| | 1982 | 7.9 | 12.4 | 11.1 | 10.3 | 9.0 | 10.2 |
| | 1983 | 8.0 | 12.4 | 11.2 | 10.4 | 9.2 | 10.3 |
| | 1984 | 8.2 | 12.4 | 11.3 | 10.6 | 9.4 | 10.5 |
| | 1985 | 8.5 | 12.5 | 11.5 | 10.8 | 9.6 | 10.7 |
| Life Expectancy at Birth[3] | 1981 M | 71.95 | 72.83 | 70.96 | 71.08 | 71.08 | 72.28 |
| | F | 78.65 | 80.49 | 78.37 | 79.19 | 78.71 | 79.03 |
| | 1982 M | 72.08 | 72.83 | 71.12 | 71.51 | 71.46 | 72.63 |
| | F | 78.81 | 80.45 | 78.88 | 79.08 | 79.12 | 79.33 |
| | 1983 M | 72.37 | 72.70 | 71.34 | 71.91 | 71.77 | 72.92 |
| | F | 78.70 | 80.27 | 79.24 | 79.24 | 79.41 | 79.59 |
| | 1984 M | 72.37 | 72.63 | 72.15 | 72.30 | 71.92 | 73.25 |
| | F | 78.63 | 79.92 | 79.20 | 79.88 | 79.58 | 79.78 |
| Infant Mortality Rate (per 1,000) | 1981 | 9.7 | 13.2 | 11.5 | 10.9 | 8.5 | 8.8 |
| | 1982 | 10.8 | 7.8 | 8.6 | 10.5 | 8.8 | 8.3 |
| | 1983 | 10.6 | 8.4 | 9.4 | 10.6 | 7.7 | 8.0 |
| | 1984 | 9.2 | 8.2 | 7.8 | 7.8 | 7.3 | 7.6 |
| | 1985 | 10.8 | 4.0 | 7.9 | 9.6 | 7.2 | 7.3 |

**Table 4. Rates[1] and Summary Demographic Indicators, Canada, Provinces and Territories, 1981-1985 – Concluded**

| | Manitoba | Saskat-chewan | Alberta | British Columbia | Yukon | North-west Terri-tories | Canada |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Birth Rate (per 1,000) | 15.7 | 17.8 | 19.1 | 15.1 | 23.2 | 28.5 | 15.3 |
| | 15.6 | 18.1 | 19.4 | 15.3 | 22.1 | 28.9 | 15.1 |
| | 15.8 | 18.0 | 19.4 | 15.2 | 24.2 | 30.8 | 15.0 |
| | 15.8 | 17.9 | 18.8 | 15.3 | 23.8 | 29.2 | 15.0 |
| | 16.0 | 17.8 | 18.6 | 14.9 | 20.4 | 28.2 | 14.8 |
| Total Fertility Rate | 1.86 | 2.14 | 1.94 | 1.71 | 2.14 | 3.00 | 1.70 |
| | 1.84 | 2.17 | 1.96 | 1.74 | 2.04 | 3.00 | 1.69 |
| | 1.87 | 2.13 | 1.96 | 1.73 | 2.36 | 3.20 | 1.68 |
| | 1.86 | 2.11 | 1.92 | 1.76 | 2.25 | 2.99 | 1.69 |
| | 1.88 | 2.09 | 1.93 | 1.73 | 1.97 | 2.86 | 1.67 |
| Total First Marriage Rate[2] (per 1,000) | 745.8 | 727.3 | 676.4 | 734.6 | 753.3 | 479.1 | 679.2 |
| | 728.3 | 708.3 | 716.8 | 736.8 | 739.9 | 500.3 | 679.2 |
| | 744.8 | 727.3 | 659.1 | 694.0 | 723.2 | 467.6 | 656.8 |
| | 728.3 | 719.5 | 714.4 | 708.4 | 688.4 | 477.6 | 663.2 |
| | 718.3 | 701.9 | 621.8 | 678.1 | 696.4 | 488.3 | 632.4 |
| | 716.5 | 699.9 | 672.4 | 695.0 | 800.0 | 503.0 | 640.8 |
| | 715.5 | 656.4 | 609.6 | 667.3 | 674.8 | 409.9 | 626.3 |
| | 723.4 | 671.7 | 663.5 | 695.0 | 658.5 | 468.0 | 647.7 |
| | 689.7 | 634.3 | 605.3 | 638.0 | 588.3 | 347.5 | 615.4 |
| | 700.9 | 658.8 | 656.4 | 665.2 | 588.3 | 394.5 | 638.1 |
| Rate of Natural Increase (per 1,000) | 7.2 | 10.0 | 13.3 | 7.9 | 17.1 | 24.2 | 8.2 |
| | 7.4 | 9.7 | 13.8 | 7.9 | 17.1 | 24.0 | 8.1 |
| | 7.7 | 10.3 | 14.0 | 8.2 | 19.1 | 25.8 | 8.0 |
| | 7.9 | 10.2 | 13.4 | 8.1 | 18.8 | 24.4 | 8.0 |
| | 7.8 | 9.9 | 13.0 | 7.5 | 15.0 | 24.0 | 7.7 |
| Total Growth Rate (per 1,000) | 6.5 | 11.4 | 39.0 | 21.3 | 34.6 | 32.8 | 11.9 |
| | 12.3 | 12.8 | 20.2 | 11.5 | -34.6 | 35.9 | 11.0 |
| | 10.8 | 13.6 | 4.4 | 12.2 | -17.8 | 26.6 | 9.6 |
| | 11.1 | 13.3 | -0.6 | 11.4 | 35.2 | 22.0 | 9.6 |
| | 8.9 | 4.8 | 11.3 | 7.8 | -17.5 | 5.9 | 9.4 |
| Net Migration Rate (per 1,000) | -0.7 | 1.4 | 25.7 | 13.4 | 17.5 | 8.6 | 3.7 |
| | 4.9 | 3.1 | 6.4 | 3.6 | -51.7 | 11.9 | 2.9 |
| | 3.1 | 3.3 | -9.6 | 4.0 | -36.9 | 0.8 | 1.6 |
| | 3.2 | 3.1 | -14.0 | 3.3 | 16.4 | -2.4 | 1.6 |
| | 1.1 | -5.1 | -1.7 | 0.3 | -32.5 | -18.1 | 1.7 |
| Population Aged 65+ as a Per-centage of the Total Population on June 1 | 11.9 | 12.0 | 7.3 | 10.9 | 3.2 | 2.9 | 9.7 |
| | 12.0 | 12.2 | 7.3 | 11.0 | 3.4 | 2.8 | 9.9 |
| | 12.1 | 12.2 | 7.4 | 11.3 | 3.4 | 2.7 | 10.0 |
| | 12.2 | 12.3 | 7.6 | 11.5 | 3.4 | 2.6 | 10.2 |
| | 12.4 | 12.4 | 7.9 | 11.8 | 3.4 | 2.5 | 10.4 |
| Life Expectancy at Birth[3] | 72.24 | 72.43 | 71.96 | 72.62 | – | – | 71.88 |
| | 78.77 | 79.61 | 79.06 | 79.55 | – | – | 78.98 |
| | 72.24 | 72.76 | 72.66 | 73.04 | – | – | 72.23 |
| | 79.19 | 80.10 | 79.47 | 79.91 | – | – | 79.32 |
| | 72.71 | 73.10 | 73.22 | 73.42 | – | – | 72.57 |
| | 79.62 | 80.35 | 79.88 | 80.47 | – | – | 79.53 |
| | 73.08 | 73.78 | 73.51 | 73.80 | – | – | 72.70 |
| | 80.15 | 80.67 | 80.18 | 80.54 | – | – | 79.65 |
| Infant Mortality Rate (per 1,000) | 11.9 | 11.8 | 10.6 | 10.2 | 14.9 | 21.5 | 9.6 |
| | 9.1 | 10.5 | 9.8 | 9.9 | 21.0 | 16.2 | 9.1 |
| | 10.4 | 10.1 | 8.4 | 8.8 | 18.5 | 20.8 | 8.5 |
| | 8.6 | 9.4 | 9.6 | 8.6 | 13.5 | 17.3 | 8.1 |
| | 9.9 | 11.0 | 8.0 | 8.1 | 10.8 | 16.7 | 7.9 |

[1] The rates are calculated for the calendar year.
[2] Calculated for ages 15-49.
[3] For 1982 to 1984, these figures should be considered estimates, since the denominators used in their calculation were estimates.
**Source:** Various Statistics Canada Publications.

process has continued into the present. Evidence is provided by examination of the change in the age structure of the population over the past 25 years. During this period, the median age at the national level has increased by 4 years for males and 5 years for females (Table A4). On June 1, 1986, Canadian males had a median age of more than 30 years (30.4) and Canadian females, almost 32 years (31.9). These values represent the highest median ages in Canada's history.

Of the three principal factors having an influence on aging (mortality reduction, the age structure of migrants, and the low rate of fertility), without question it is the low level of fertility that has had the greatest effect on the observed changes, just as it was the high rate of fertility during the baby-boom that produced the low median age during that period. The 1961/1985 comparative age pyramid illustrates the transformations that have taken place in the age structure of the Canadian population (Chart 3).

### Fewer Young, More Elderly

Clearly, the fall in the birth rate has resulted in a smaller base for the 1986 pyramid, in comparison with the broad 1961 base. Furthermore, as the youths of 1961 are now in the adult group, the youth dependancy ratio (those aged 0-14 expressed as a percent of those aged 15-64) has been reduced considerably, from 58.1% in 1961, to 31.2% in 1986. Progress in the area of mortality has had an effect on the top of the pyramid, such that more persons now reach an advanced age than ever before. The 1961 adult cohorts have a higher proportionate share of the 1986 elderly population than would have been anticipated, since not only has the mortality experience become slightly more favourable, but the decline in fertility has reduced the proportionate share of the young. Consequently, the elderly dependancy ratio increased from 13.1 to 15.6 percent during the period (the elderly dependancy ratio is the ratio of persons age 65 + to those aged 15-64). The total dependancy ratio (the sum of the youth and elderly ratios), as a result of the above changes, decreased to 46.8 "dependents" per 100 adults in 1986, representing the lowest rate in Canadian history. While this situation leads to a favourable economic climate in terms of a reduction in the dependancy burden for those in the "productive years", at the same time it presents a challenge for job creation.

The large number of births which occurred during the nearly twenty years of the baby-boom resembles a large wave moving through the various phases of the life cycle (Chart 4). At each juncture in the aging process, the needs of the individuals in this huge cohort change, and with each change come new challenges.

Pre-schoolers (aged 0-5) have never accounted for as large a proportion of the population as they did in 1961, when 14.7% of Canadians were below school age. Their portion has also decreased considerably, but less than would be expected based on the low level of fertility. This attenuated decline is due

to the fact that the current pre-schoolers are children whose parents are part of the large "baby-boom" cohorts, a substantial number of whom have postponed childbearing. Pre-schoolers, as a consequence, accounted for 7.5% of the 1986 population, and are part of what has been called the "echo effect" of the baby-boom. This phenomenon is also clearly visible in Chart 4.

The broader youth segment (those aged 0-14) attained its greatest share of the population in 1961, while among the school-aged population (those aged 6-15), the peak was reached in 1971. At that time, 21.3% of Canadians were of school age. In 1986, only 12% were in this age group.

Chart 3
**Age Pyramid of the Canadian Population,**
**June 1, 1961 and June 1, 1985**
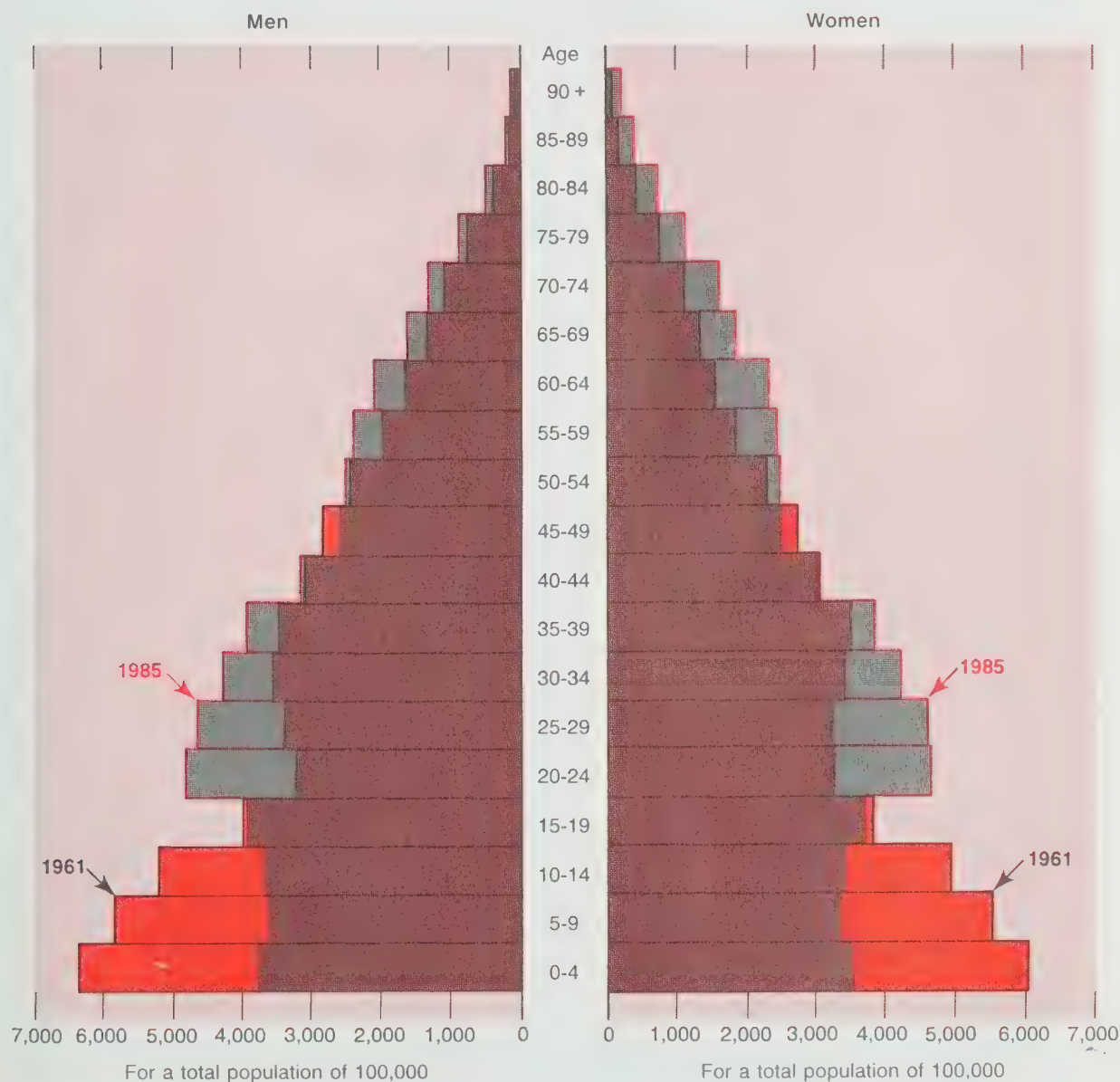


Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada.

Age Structure of the Canadian Population, 1901-2031

Chart 4

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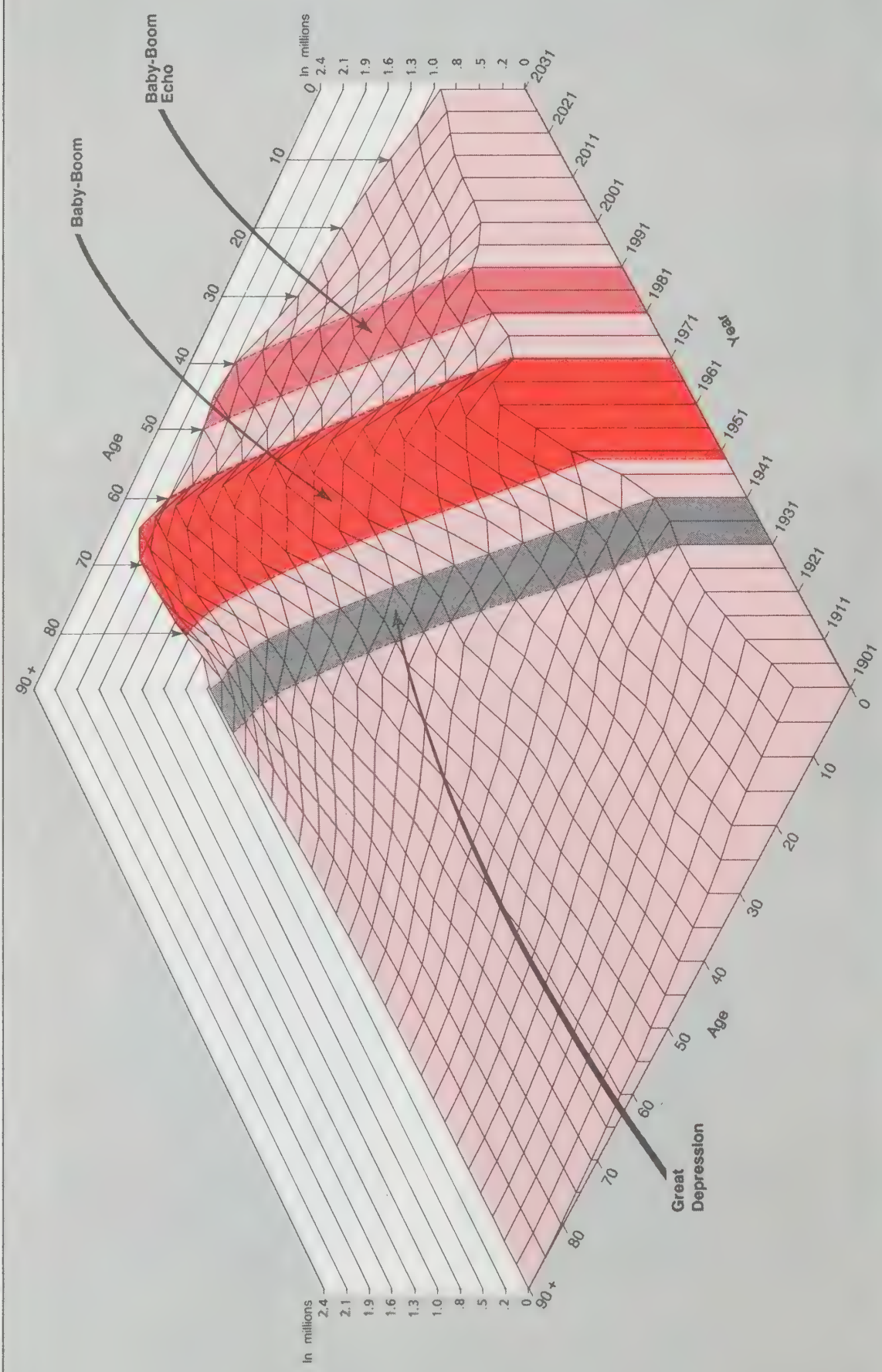
The 17-24 age group, which largely represents entrants into the job market, attained its maximum in 1981, and its numbers will continue to diminish until the end of the century.

The adult group (15-64) represents a much broader age segment than that of the youth group, and as a consequence, variations in its size have lead to smaller relative changes in its proportion. As a result of the baby-boom "wave" this group has practically reached its maximum (at about 68% in 1986) after having reached a minimum (in recent history) of 58.4% in 1961. Only unforeseen changes in migration or fertility are capable of slowing down the rate of decline in its proportion. A rise in fertility would reduce its share, as will the decline in mortality at advanced ages.

The elderly are currently attracting much interest, due to the rapid increase in their numbers, and the broad implications that such an increase has. The 65+ age group grew from 7.6 to 10.4 percent of the overall population in 25 years, which represents a 143% increase in number. Even more impressive has been the increase in the 75+ subgroup. Its ranks, currently numbering close to 1.1 million persons, is expected to increase in the near future as a result of the double effect of the arrival of a large number of persons at the age threshold, as well as increases in life expectancy at age 75 and beyond.

## An International Comparison

Few countries in the Western world have a population age distribution histogram that can justify being called a "pyramid". In addition to the general decline in fertility, there have been fluctuations in birth rates and a thinning-out of some age groups. The pyramids for Canada and the United States, however, are not as irregular as those for European countries (Chart 5). For both Canada and the United States, the imbalance between the sexes in the upper age range is small, the indentations are shallow, and the base of the pyramid is larger. But this situation does not mean that North America is immune to important transformations in demographic structure, and in particular, to rapid aging.

## A North American Peculiarity

Not long ago the Canadian public became aware of the fate that weighs upon all populations: grow in size or grow old. The effects were first noted around the end of the 1960's with the emptying of the large schools that had been built to accommodate the baby-boom cohorts. Such school closures made visible the changes in the birth rate that had begun several years earlier. Currently, it is the arrival at retirement age of larger and larger contingents each year that has caught the attention of policy makers.

That the countries of Europe are farther along the aging path is well known. What requires more attention is the speed at which the aging process is progressing. In effect, it is more or less the speed with which the ratio of the group sizes change, that determines the extent of transformations in the socioeconomic

life of individuals, and in society in general. If one uses the youth dependancy ratio as a measure of aging "from the bottom, up", and that of the elderly as a measure of aging "from the top, down", then aging progresses over any period to the extent that the former decreases, in combination with an increase in the latter. The contrast between the Western European countries and North America in this regard is striking, especially in terms of aging "from the bottom, up" (Chart 6). In Europe, the youth dependancy ratio dropped during the 20 years between 1961 and 1981 from 37.8% to 32.5% (a slight decline of 5.3%) while that of the United States fell from 51.6% to 33.9% (a drop of 17.7%), and that of Canada from 58.2% to 33.2% (a drop of 25.0%).

For the elderly, the opposite held true. Over the same period, Europe experienced a greater increase (3.3 percent) in the ratio of the elderly than did North America. The increases recorded for the same period of time were 2.4 percent for the United States, and 1.3 percent for Canada. The youth and elderly dependancy ratios are indicators of the two unique ways in which a single phenomenon (aging) evolves, and, as a consequence of the precipitous decline in the youth ratio, the total aging process in North America has been proceeding at a more rapid pace than that in Europe.

**Marital Status**

Marital status is a transitory state, and with the exception of the status of single, is reversible. This leads to difficulty in measuring, with any precision, changes in propensity over time, since it is not known exactly to what to attribute any increase or decrease in numbers in the different categories of marital status. For example, the number of divorced persons results from the combined propensities to divorce and to remarry. The same is true for the status of widowed. At any time, the situation is comparable to a balance sheet in which the contribution of the "debits" and the "credits" to the total are unknown.

The comparison of the age distribution of singles over a thirty-five year period delivers a clear message on the behaviour of different birth cohorts with regard to marriage (Chart 7). An important observation is that recent generations are marrying later than earlier ones (Table A7). It is also apparent that these older generations married more than their elders. The 1928-29 male cohort[3] saw 26% of its numbers married by age 23, while that of 1963-64, at the same age, had only 15% married. In the same way, the 1923-24 cohort, at age 28, saw 65% married, while that of 1958-59 had only 56% married, etc. By contrast, the 1888-89 generation had 12% of its members single at age 63, while that of 1923-24 had only 7%.

It is this simultaneous presence of the proportion still single, among

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[3] In this discussion, the proportions referred to are the mid-point generation of a 5-year generation group.

Chart 5

# Population Pyramids for Selected Industrialized Countries, 1983 (Approximately)



England and Wales

France

Hungary

Japan

Sweden

F.R.G.

G.D.R.

United States
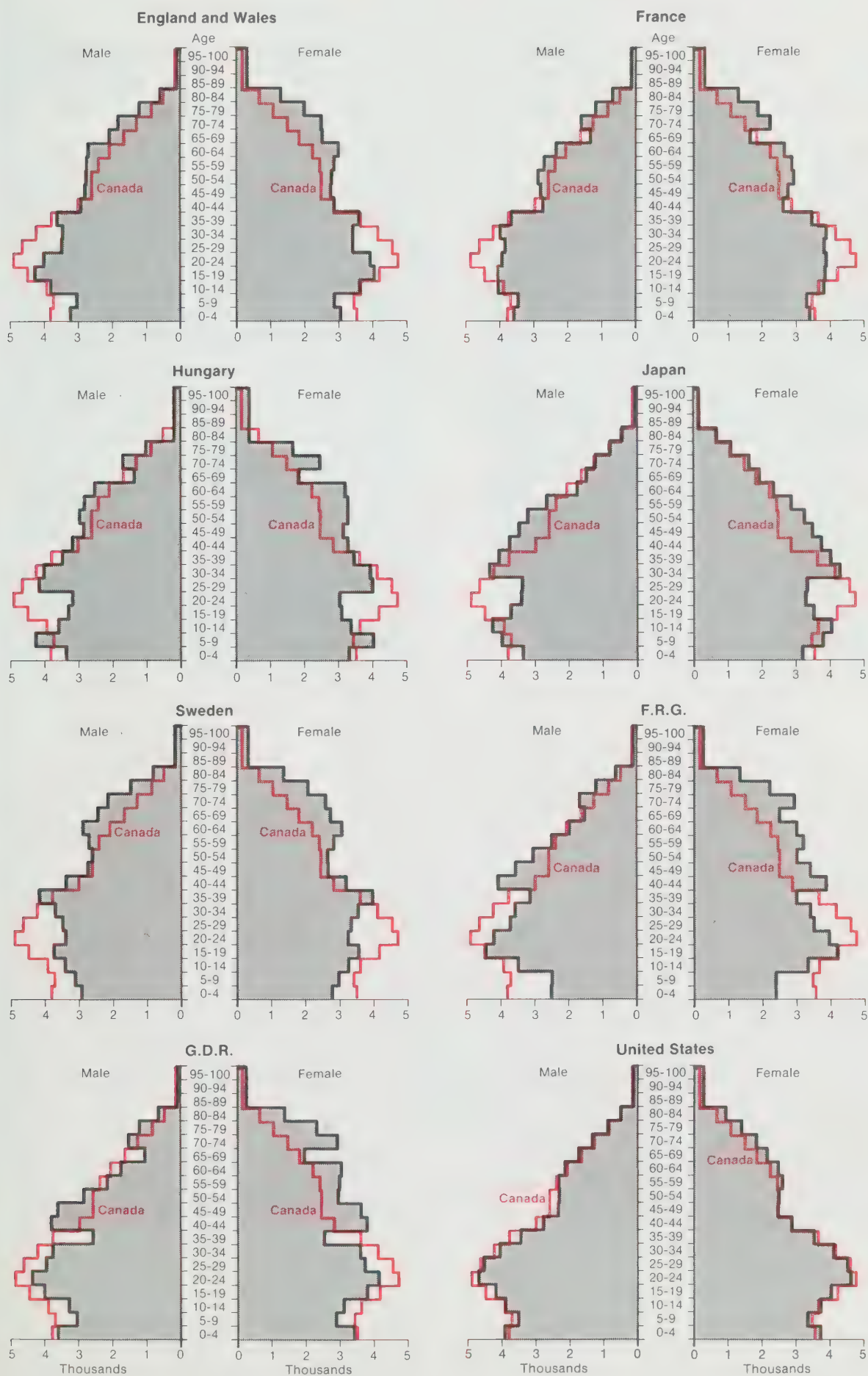
Source: Data published by national statistics agencies.

different generations, that explains the age pyramid of singles at two dates. The 1985 pyramid has a much larger proportion of persons in the 20-24 age group than does that of the 1951 pyramid. To explain this disparity in proportion single between generations, one can cite the existence of common-law unions, the widespread use of contraception (which has reduced the risk of premarital pregnancy and, therefore, the rate of first marriage), and the generally more ''permissive'' social environment in which today's young find themselves. For the more aged, the explanations are less abundant. It may well be that many abandoned the idea of marriage once they had aged past the period of life when marriage is generally at its peak. For these cohorts, the peak occurred during the Great Depression.

Chart 6
**Dependency Ratios, Europe, the United States and Canada, 1945 to 1981**
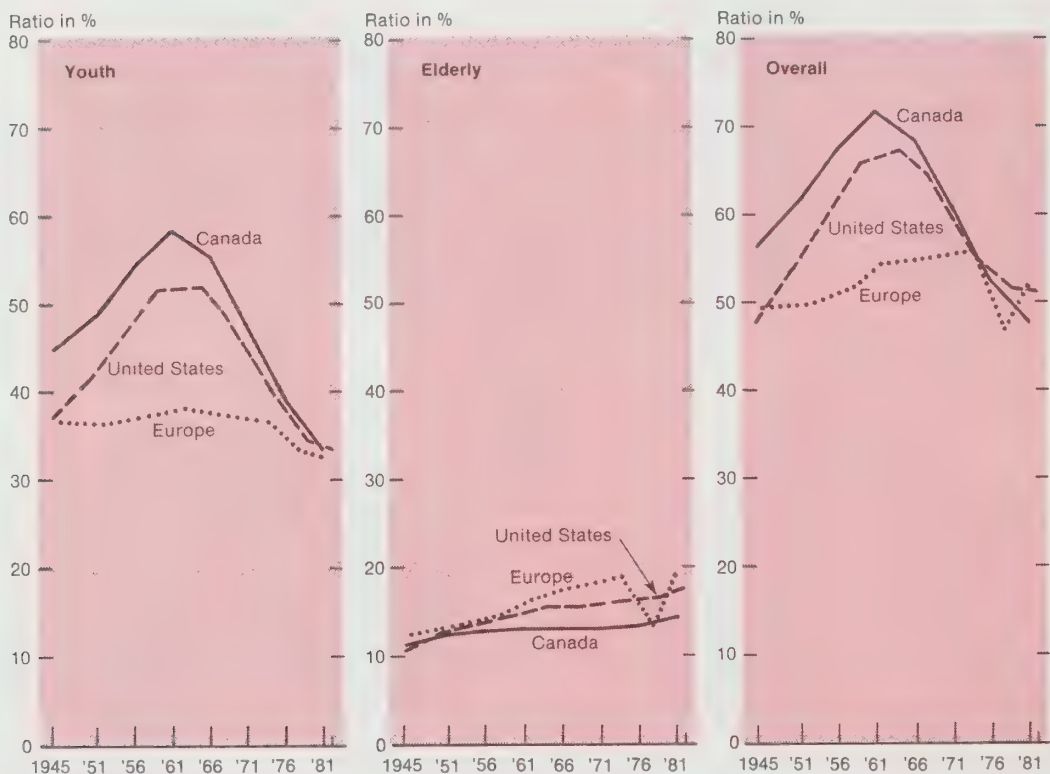


Note: One cannot help but be intrigued by the steep, short-lived downturn in the European dependency ratio roughly between 1970 and 1975, which does not appear in the North American curve. There is no simple explanation for this, but three possibilities come to mind. First, the decrease in the elderly population may be due to the decline in births during World War I, which produced the small cohorts that were, secondly, the hardest hit by the casualties of World War II. Thirdly, the ranks of the adult population were swollen by the lage baby-boom cohorts, which further reduced the ratio.

Source: Table A5.

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Chart 7
**Age Pyramid of Single Persons 15 years and Over,
Canada, 1951-1986**
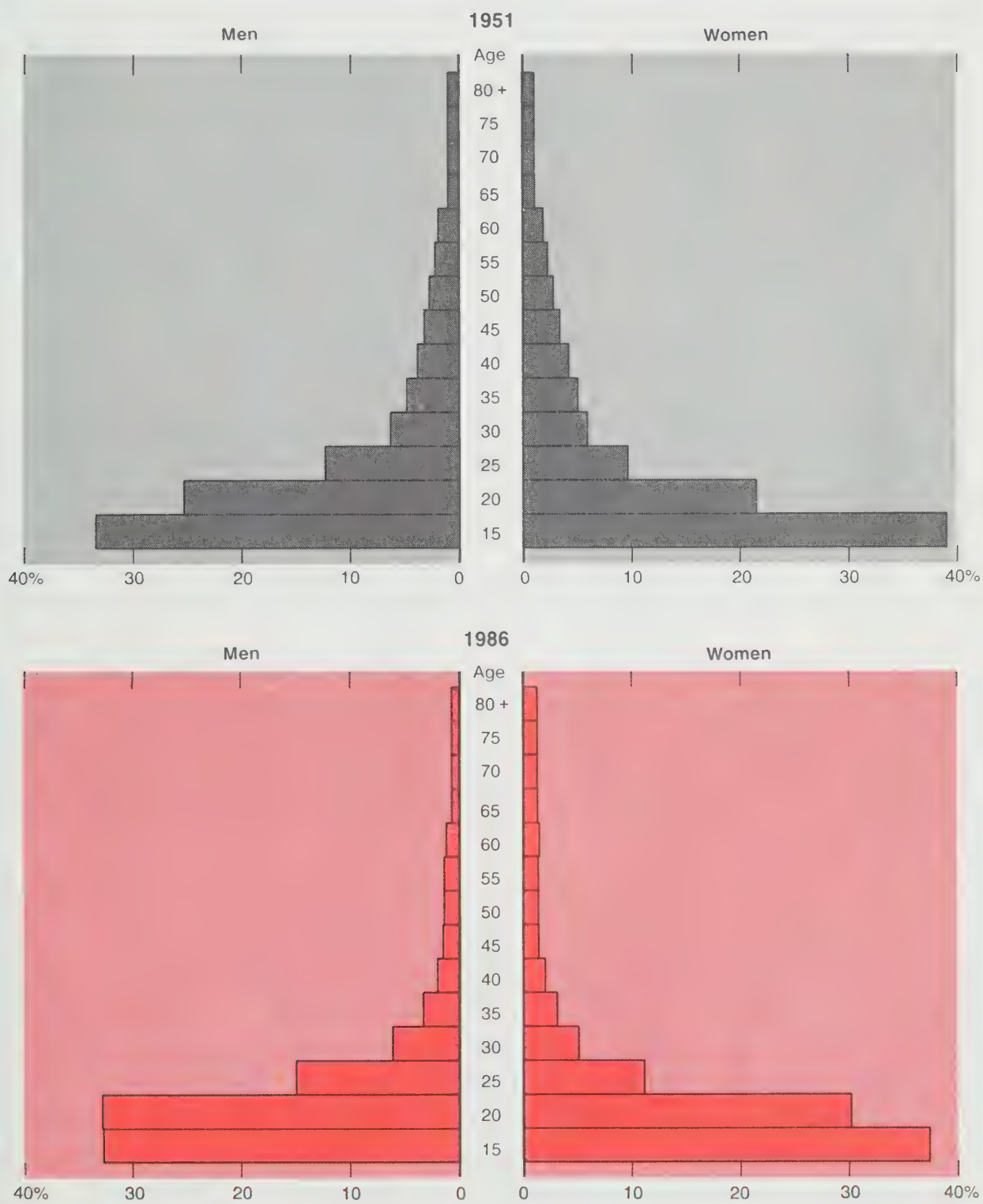


Source: Table A6.

An age and sex-specific comparison of the marital status distribution of Canadians at different points in time yields some interesting observations (Table A7). First, in spite of remarriages, there have been important increases for both sexes in the proportion divorced, especially since 1971. Second, there has been a reduction in the proportion widowed, again for both sexes, which can partially be attributed to the reduction in mortality among adults, as well as, to a certain extent, to remarriage. The result of these complex and intertwined changes has been an increase in the number of married persons at advanced ages.

Today, fewer people than ever approach old-age in solitude, and this holds true for both sexes. During the last part of life, however, the increased life expectancy of females means that the vast majority of elderly women are living alone. In fact, half of all elderly women living alone are widowed.

## MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE

The annual number of marriages in Canada is subject to random fluctuations (Table 5). Therefore, slight annual increases or decreases should not be interpreted as signifying the beginning of a trend. However, since 1972 (a record high year in Canadian history), the number of years in which a decline has been recorded (9) exceeds the number in which an increase has been noted (4), and a general downward trend in the number of marriages is evident.

For both sexes, the number of marriages of people who had never been married before follows the same general trend. Such marriages have never been as numerous as in 1972, and their decline is the major factor in the overall downward movement, which has been particularly strong since 1976. In fact, since 1972, decreases from the previous year have been noted in all years, with the exception of 1979 and 1980.

To date, when a decline in the number of marriages has been recorded in a given year, the decrease in the number of first marriages has always been larger, and when the number of marriages has increased, the increase in the number of first marriages has been smaller. Remarriages, therefore, cushion fluctuations in first marriages. In addition, since most remarriages involve divorced persons, it would appear that the propensity of the divorced population to remarry is more constant than is the propensity to marry of those who have always been single.

### First Marriages

For decreases in the total rate of first marriage, it is not possible to distinguish the effect of postponed marriages from that of marriages that will never take place, since marriages that are put-off may never occur, and no "catch-up"

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Table 5. Marriages, First Marriages, Remarriages, Canada, 1967-1985

| Year | Number of Marriages | Number of First Marriages | | Number of Marriages in Which at Least One of the Spouses had Previously Been Married | |
|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| | | Males | Females | Number | % |
| 1967 | 165,879 | 151,883 | 151,488 | 20,417 | 12.3 |
| 1968 | 171,766 | 157,309 | 156,783 | 21,133 | 12.3 |
| 1969 | 182,183 | 162,853 | 162,690 | 27,494 | 15.1 |
| 1970 | 188,428 | 167,267 | 167,421 | 29,975 | 15.9 |
| 1971 | 191,324 | 168,944 | 169,072 | 31,698 | 16.6 |
| 1972 | 200,470 | 176,537 | 177,155 | 33,582 | 16.8 |
| 1973 | 199,064 | 173,355 | 174,135 | 36,047 | 18.1 |
| 1974 | 198,824 | 170,678 | 172,107 | 39,063 | 19.6 |
| 1975 | 197,585 | 167,022 | 168,817 | 42,300 | 21.4 |
| 1976 | 186,844 | 155,679 | 157,412 | 43,098 | 23.1 |
| 1977 | 187,344 | 154,906 | 156,854 | 44,750 | 23.9 |
| 1978 | 185,523 | 151,884 | 154,016 | 46,254 | 24.9 |
| 1979 | 187,811 | 152,731 | 154,982 | 48,309 | 25.7 |
| 1980 | 191,069 | 154,138 | 156,918 | 50,600 | 26.5 |
| 1981 | 190,082 | 151,978 | 154,506 | 52,340 | 27.5 |
| 1982 | 188,360 | 149,419 | 152,825 | 52,979 | 28.1 |
| 1983 | 184,675 | 144,960 | 147,968 | 53,342 | 28.9 |
| 1984 | 185,597 | 144,674 | 147,907 | 55,436 | 29.9 |
| 1985 | 184,096 | 144,009 | 146,718 | 54,632 | 29.7 |

Source: Statistics Canada, *Vital Statistics,* Catalogue 84-205 Annual.

effect will ever be observed. Whatever the role of postponement or non-entry may be, comparisons of annual values for the same population over time, or of different populations in a given year, will indicate whether people are marrying more or less. Canadians abandoned the single life less in 1985 than they ever have, as the rate fell to 615 per thousand - a record low. At 638, the rate for females was almost identical to that in 1984, and forms part of the downward movement we have been seeing since 1967.

The national rate of first marriage has been strongly influenced in recent years by Quebec (Table 6), since that province contains more than a quarter of Canada's population, and has not only the lowest rate of all the provinces, but one of the lowest rates in the world (488 per thousand for males and 515 for females). Among males, only two other provinces - Newfoundland and Alberta - have a rate of first marriage lower than the Canadian average, and even there the difference is very small. Were it not for Quebec, the national rate would be 661 per thousand, and no province would be far off this figure. A comparison of the two provinces with the largest populations reveals a striking contrast: the rate for Ontario males is more than 40% higher than that in Quebec. Between the Yukon and the Northwest Territories (the most sparsely populated regions) the contrast is also very strong, reflecting the large sociocultural differences between the two.

### Table 6. Total First Marriage Rate, Canada, Provinces and Territories, 1985 (in thousands)

| Province | Male[1] | Female[2] |
|---|---|---|
| Newfoundland | 555 | 532 |
| Prince Edward Island | 722 | 731 |
| Nova Scotia | 651 | 662 |
| New Brunswick | 659 | 669 |
| Quebec | 488 | 515 |
| Ontario | 695 | 708 |
| Manitoba | 690 | 701 |
| Saskatchewan | 634 | 659 |
| Alberta | 605 | 656 |
| British Columbia | 638 | 665 |
| Yukon | 588 | 588 |
| Northwest Territories | 348 | 394 |
| **Canada** | **615** | **638** |
| **Canada excluding Quebec** | **661** | **682** |

[1] Ages 17-49 inclusive.
[2] Ages 15-49 inclusive.

**Source:** Statistics Canada, *Vital Statistics, Vol. II, Marriage and Divorce,* Catalogue 84-205.

No clear explanation has been found for the long-term fluctuations in marriage. In the short-term, economic prosperity is the most frequently cited factor. The nuptiality level in Quebec therefore, might be linked to the economic problems that, more than any other province, Quebec has encountered in recent years. The same explanation might also apply to the situation in Newfoundland.

Both marriages and common-law unions are an entry into the status of "living as couples". On the basis of the findings from the "Family History Survey"[4], an increasing number of persons, and especially young persons, are opting for the latter. This trend provides part of the explanation for declines in the marriage rate.

Except in certain special circumstances (for instance, where the members of all cohorts have departed from their age-specific marriage rate), the movement in nuptiality over the years has been a fluctuation in the trend to marry young or to marry late. At present in Canada, the more recent the cohort, the less its members marry young. At age 20, for example, the 1955 male cohort was

[4] T.K. Burch and A.K. Madan. *Union Formation and Dissolution in Canada: Results from the 1984 Family History Survey.* Statistics Canada, Catalogue 99-963.

marrying at the rate of 71 per 1,000 (in 1975), while the 1961 cohort, who were at the same age in 1981, was marrying at the rate of 41 per 1,000 (Table A8). The cohorts that had not been marrying at a high rate when they were young, however, were marrying at a higher rate around age thirty than had their elders. This leads to the observation that the marriage rate curves of recent cohorts intercept those of older cohorts. For example, the curve for the 1953 male cohort intercepts the curves of the 1948, 1943 and 1938 male cohorts (Chart 8A). The 1958 curve intercepts that for 1953, and the 1959 curve intercepts that for 1958.

It follows that the average age of people entering a first marriage is increasing. It went from 23.5 years in 1980 to 24.3 in 1984 for females, and from 25.7 in 1980 to 26.6 in 1984 for males. The average age of females at marriage is currently close to the maximum of 24.9 years, which was reached in 1942. Males are still quite far from the 1938 situation, when their average age at marriage reached an all-time high of 28.3, and, if the current rates are the beginning of a trend, that peak may not be reached again. In 1983, it was only at age 27 that the rates exceeded those in the previous year. In 1984, this occurred at age 25. The rates for 1985 show little, if any, difference.

## Remarriages

Remarriages, which used to occur more frequently because higher mortality rates led to an increased likelihood that the remaining spouse was still young, have declined considerably with the reduction in mortality. Subsequently, the increase in divorce produced a large number of candidates for a second or third marriage. In 1967, in 1 out of 8 marriages, one of the spouses had been married previously (Table 7). Seventeen years later, in 30% of all marriages (roughly 1 in 3), one of the spouses had been married before, and in 9 out of 10 of these cases, they had been divorced. The proportion is growing all the time. By way of comparison, at the beginning of the 1950s, fewer than 1 in 2 remarriages (48%) included one spouse who had been divorced.

To qualify what has been said about the remarriage of divorced persons, it should be pointed out that the propensity of the divorced population to remarry has decreased. Since it is difficult to assess the number of persons who have divorced status in a given year, Pressat[5] suggests using the total number of persons granted divorces over the preceding six years as the population at risk of remarriage. This figure serves as the denominator in the calculation of the rate of remarriage among the divorced in any given year. Using this method, one can see that interest in remarriage in Canada has been declining appreciably over the recent past. The reasons for this are no doubt the same as those given to explain the decrease in nuptiality among those who had not previously been married.

[5] Pressat, R., "Treizième rapport sur la situation démographique de la France", *Population*, 1984 (July-October), pp. 669-732.

## Divorces

In 1983, the number of divorces declined from the previous year (a drop of 1,869; Table 8). This was the first time there had been such a decline since 1969. In 1984 and 1985, the decreases were larger (3,395 and 3,192, respectively), however, it would be premature to conclude that divorce is declining, even though a few observations indicate a trend in that direction.

It is true that the decrease in divorce relates not only to numbers, but also to rates. For example, the overall divorce rate per 1,000 married women went from 11.6 in 1982 to 11.3 in 1983 and declined further to 10.6 in 1984. A decline in the crude rate has been observed in the United States, where, after having risen regularly since the end of the 1950s (2.1 in 1958), the rate has declined

Chart 8A
**Age-Specific First Marriage Rates for Recent Cohorts, Canada**



Source: Table A8.

from 5.3 per 1,000 in 1981 to 5.0 in 1984. Even though there has been a decrease each year since 1981 in the total divorce index in Canada (Table 9), we cannot be sure that there has been a profound change in the attitude of Canadians towards divorce. Ordinarily, such major changes take place over generations, with the rates for younger people changing first, while the others remain more or less stable.

We can consider some factors exogenous to divorce in an effort to explain the sudden slowdown in rates. One factor discouraging divorce may be that some couples have been waiting for the recent Divorce Act amendments before starting divorce proceedings. The fact that property acquired during the

Chart 8B
**Age-Specific First Marriage Rates for Recent Cohorts, Canada**



Source: Table A8.

## Table 7. Number and Frequency of Remarriage of Divorced Persons, Canada, 1977-1985

| Year | Number of Remarriages | | Frequency of Remarriage (%) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Males | Females | Males | Females |
| 1977 | 26,227 | 23,555 | 63.0 | 56.6 |
| 1978 | 27,713 | 24,931 | 60.6 | 56.7 |
| 1979 | 29,220 | 26,492 | 58.6 | 53.1 |
| 1980 | 31,043 | 27,993 | 57.9 | 52.2 |
| 1981 | 32,405 | 29,517 | 57.4 | 52.3 |
| 1982 | 33,334 | 29,951 | 56.2 | 50.5 |
| 1983 | 34,483 | 31,397 | 55.6 | 50.6 |
| 1984 | 35,276 | 31,760 | 54.9 | 49.5 |
| 1985 | 34,780 | 32,018 | 53.1 | 48.8 |

Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue 84-205; some data have been calculated by the author.

## Table 8. Annual Number of Divorces Granted and Increase over Preceding Year, Canada, 1967-1985

| Year | Number of Divorces | Increase Over Preceding Year | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | Number | % |
| 1967 | 11,165 | | |
| 1968 | 11,343 | 178 | 2 |
| 1969 | 26,093 | 14,750 | 130 |
| 1970 | 29,775 | 3,682 | 14 |
| 1971 | 29,685 | −90 | −0.3 |
| 1972 | 32,389 | 2,704 | 9 |
| 1973 | 36,704 | 4,315 | 13 |
| 1974 | 45,019 | 8,315 | 23 |
| 1975 | 50,611 | 5,592 | 12 |
| 1976 | 54,207 | 3,596 | 7 |
| 1977 | 55,376 | 1,163 | 2 |
| 1978 | 57,155 | 1,785 | 3 |
| 1979 | 59,474 | 2,319 | 4 |
| 1980 | 62,019 | 2,545 | 4 |
| 1981 | 67,671 | 5,652 | 9 |
| 1982 | 70,436 | 2,765 | 4 |
| 1983 | 68,567 | −1,869 | −3 |
| 1984 | 65,172 | −3,395 | −5 |
| 1985 | 61,980 | −3,192 | −5 |

Source: Statistics Canada, *Vital Statistics, Vol. II, Marriages and Divorces,* Catalogue 84-205.

marriage must be divided may also be a consideration. It may also be that, in contemporary Canadian society, some couples who are breaking up no longer feel compelled to get a divorce, since they can form another couple without going through the formalities.

One might initially be tempted to attribute the reduction in the divorce rate to the increase in cohabitation. Many people who cohabit today would formerly have married, and the break-up of such unions would have involved divorces, while today they pass unnoticed. This reasoning does not hold, however, since there has been a reduction not only in numbers, but also in rates, for which the denominators are the marriages involved. Nevertheless, common-law unions would have some reducing effect, if in fact, they are more likely to replace marriages for which the risk of divorce is high.

Interprovincial variations are generally not of substantive importance, since they may simply be the result of differences in the way the courts operate. In addition, migratory movements make it impossible to say that the differences observed are a result of regional differences in behaviour. It should be noted, however, that there were decreases in divorce rates for all provinces in 1984 and, except for Prince Edward Island and Nova Scotia, in 1985 (Table A9).

## Common-law Unions

Mentioned several times as having a disruptive effect on the usual nuptiality and fertility statistics, common-law unions remain a type of civil status about which we have little information. By their very nature, their distribution in the population is difficult to measure. The 1981 Census attempted to establish, for the first time and in an indirect way, the number and characteristics of persons living as couples without being legally married. The probable differential under-reporting of common-law status by certain socioeconomic groups does not allow a sufficiently clear picture of the situation to be drawn in Canada. However, it is known that on Census Day in 1981 approximately 6% of the couples enumerated were not legally married, and half of the 704,000 or so persons involved were between 20 and 30 years of age (Table 10). The Family History Survey conducted in 1983 by Statistics Canada provides more detailed information on cohabitation[6].

# FERTILITY

Except for 1985, the number of births in Canada has been growing since 1973, the year in which the lowest number (343,373 births) since the 1959 baby-boom peak (479,275 births) was reached. The numbers had been rising

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[6] Burch and Madan, op. cit.

# Table 9. Duration-specific Divorce Rate (per 10,000), Canada, Marriage Cohorts 1943-44 to 1984-85

| Year | Number of Marriages per Calendar Year | Marriage Cohort | Cohort Marriages | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | 21 | 22 | 23 | 24 | 25 | Year of Observation | Total Divorce Index |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1944 | 104,656 | 1943-44 | 109,241 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 44 | 1969 | 1,370 |
| 1945 | 111,376 | 1944-45 | 108,016 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 51 | 50 | 1970 | 1,863 |
| 1946 | 137,398 | 1945-46 | 124,387 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 52 | 56 | 48 | 1971 | 1,885 |
| 1947 | 130,400 | 1946-47 | 133,899 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 48 | 55 | 49 | 46 | 1972 | 2,007 |
| 1948 | 126,118 | 1947-48 | 128,259 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 47 | 56 | 50 | 50 | 54 | 1973 | 2,233 |
| 1949 | 124,087 | 1948-49 | 125,102 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 50 | 58 | 56 | 52 | 60 | 58 | 1974 | 2,673 |
| 1950 | 125,083 | 1949-50 | 124,585 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 51 | 60 | 55 | 58 | 59 | 68 | 64 | 1975 | 2,932 |
| 1951 | 128,408 | 1950-51 | 126,745 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 51 | 64 | 61 | 59 | 60 | 73 | 69 | 71 | 1976 | 3,072 |
| 1952 | 128,474 | 1951-52 | 128,441 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 53 | 65 | 63 | 62 | 63 | 74 | 74 | 76 | 69 | 1977 | 3,063 |
| 1953 | 131,034 | 1952-53 | 129,754 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 54 | 69 | 70 | 64 | 67 | 75 | 80 | 76 | 69 | 55 | 1978 | 3,103 |
| 1954 | 128,629 | 1953-54 | 129,381 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 50 | 70 | 64 | 62 | 71 | 86 | 82 | 78 | 75 | 70 | 62 | 1979 | 3,180 |
| 1955 | 128,029 | 1954-55 | 128,329 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 57 | 73 | 65 | 68 | 69 | 85 | 85 | 83 | 75 | 70 | 68 | 65 | 1980 | 3,277 |
| 1956 | 132,713 | 1955-56 | 130,271 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 59 | 83 | 71 | 73 | 77 | 87 | 90 | 90 | 89 | 78 | 74 | 69 | 71 | 1981 | 3,529 |
| 1957 | 133,186 | 1956-57 | 132,949 | | | | | | | | | | | | | 67 | 82 | 76 | 75 | 78 | 92 | 105 | 96 | 87 | 85 | 84 | 75 | 74 | 66 | 1982 | 3,655 |
| 1958 | 131,525 | 1957-58 | 132,355 | | | | | | | | | | | | 61 | 79 | 81 | 81 | 83 | 91 | 101 | 97 | 92 | 84 | 82 | 77 | 78 | 73 | 66 | 1983 | 3,522 |
| 1959 | 132,474 | 1958-59 | 131,999 | | | | | | | | | | | 68 | 91 | 82 | 80 | 86 | 96 | 105 | 103 | 92 | 89 | 80 | 78 | 83 | 75 | 67 | 67 | 1984 | 3,306 |
| 1960 | 130,338 | 1959-60 | 131,406 | | | | | | | | | | 70 | 93 | 95 | 97 | 111 | 111 | 111 | 110 | 100 | 95 | 90 | 84 | 91 | 87 | 76 | 67 | 64 | 1985 | 3,121 |
| 1961 | 128,475 | 1960-61 | 129,406 | | | | | | | | | 73 | 97 | 95 | 95 | 97 | 119 | 119 | 116 | 108 | 100 | 95 | 94 | 95 | 94 | 81 | 76 | 64 | | | |
| 1962 | 129,381 | 1961-62 | 128,928 | | | | | | | | 71 | 105 | 99 | 106 | 103 | 121 | 133 | 123 | 115 | 108 | 97 | 96 | 98 | 105 | 88 | 79 | 71 | | | | |
| 1963 | 131,111 | 1962-63 | 130,246 | | | | | | | 71 | 114 | 113 | 112 | 114 | 131 | 133 | 134 | 124 | 118 | 104 | 99 | 107 | 105 | 91 | 85 | 78 | | | | | |
| 1964 | 138,135 | 1963-64 | 134,623 | | | | | | 68 | 106 | 109 | 113 | 124 | 142 | 136 | 128 | 114 | 110 | 113 | 110 | 100 | 93 | 100 | 93 | 82 | | | | | | |

*Marriage Duration (columns 0–25)*

**Source:** See end of table

# Table 9. Duration-specific Divorce Rate (per 10,000), Canada, Marriage Cohorts 1943-44 to 1984-85 – Concluded

| Year | Number of Marriages per Calendar Year | Marriage Cohort | Cohort Marriages | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | 21 | 22 | 23 | 24 | 25 | Year of Observation | Total Divorce Index |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1965 | 145,519 | 1964-65 | 141,827 | | | | | 61 | 98 | 112 | 121 | 134 | 150 | 153 | 153 | 139 | 134 | 124 | 117 | 118 | 113 | 100 | 96 | 91 | | | | | | | |
| 1966 | 155,596 | 1965-66 | 150,557 | | | | 42 | 93 | 112 | 128 | 139 | 143 | 156 | 162 | 163 | 148 | 137 | 130 | 120 | 121 | 115 | 112 | 92 | | | | | | | | |
| 1967 | 165,879 | 1966-67 | 160,737 | | | 31 | 68 | 102 | 126 | 139 | 166 | 177 | 171 | 155 | 145 | 136 | 132 | 130 | 128 | 117 | 105 | 94 | | | | | | | | | |
| 1968 | 171,766 | 1967-68 | 168,823 | | 17 | 49 | 75 | 115 | 142 | 162 | 183 | 173 | 165 | 156 | 151 | 136 | 138 | 138 | 117 | 109 | 96 | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1969 | 182,183 | 1968-69 | 176,974 | 3 | 22 | 53 | 83 | 122 | 158 | 182 | 184 | 171 | 165 | 160 | 152 | 147 | 144 | 132 | 111 | 103 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1970 | 188,428 | 1969-70 | 185,305 | 3 | 25 | 55 | 92 | 151 | 177 | 192 | 192 | 176 | 174 | 165 | 163 | 162 | 157 | 139 | 112 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1971 | 191,324 | 1970-71 | 189,876 | 4 | 28 | 61 | 106 | 161 | 186 | 189 | 191 | 184 | 180 | 163 | 166 | 150 | 130 | 116 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1972 | 200,490 | 1971-72 | 195,907 | 4 | 33 | 74 | 117 | 174 | 193 | 196 | 197 | 192 | 187 | 172 | 168 | 144 | 125 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1973 | 199,064 | 1972-73 | 199,777 | 5 | 36 | 83 | 129 | 181 | 203 | 212 | 203 | 205 | 185 | 180 | 155 | 135 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1974 | 198,824 | 1973-74 | 198,944 | 5 | 44 | 94 | 136 | 184 | 213 | 223 | 228 | 218 | 204 | 189 | 146 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1975 | 197,585 | 1974-75 | 198,205 | 6 | 52 | 104 | 147 | 199 | 224 | 243 | 232 | 228 | 214 | 162 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1976 | 193,343 | 1975-76 | 195,464 | 8 | 59 | 111 | 161 | 208 | 234 | 246 | 226 | 193 | 167 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1977 | 187,344 | 1976-77 | 190,343 | 8 | 63 | 116 | 166 | 223 | 250 | 238 | 209 | 180 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1978 | 185,523 | 1977-78 | 186,434 | 7 | 65 | 117 | 165 | 237 | 251 | 220 | 198 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1979 | 187,811 | 1978-79 | 186,667 | 8 | 64 | 173 | 187 | 228 | 225 | 210 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1980 | 191,069 | 1979-80 | 189,440 | 8 | 68 | 137 | 178 | 207 | 212 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1981 | 190,575 | 1980-81 | 190,575 | 9 | 74 | 133 | 157 | 190 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1982 | 188,360 | 1981-82 | 188,217 | 10 | 69 | 120 | 147 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1983 | 184,675 | 1982-83 | 186,518 | 9 | 67 | 110 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1984 | 185,597 | 1983-84 | 185,136 | 9 | 66 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1985 | 184,096 | 1984-85 | 184,846 | 10 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

Source: Table A10.

slowly, however, as indicated by the small difference between the 1984 and 1983 figures. This was an increase in *number*, however, and should not be interpreted as an increase in the propensity to bear children. The crude birth rate, in fact, declined to 14.8 per thousand in 1985 from 15.3 in 1981, and the single most important measure of the level of fertility, the total fertility rate (TFR), currently stands at 1.67 births per woman, essentially the same as the 1981 value of 1.70 (Table A16). The precipitous decline in the TFR in Canada since 1959 has given way to a recent stability, with a pattern of minor fluctuations resembling that of most European countries in this regard.

Chart 9
**Total Fertility Rates, Canada, Provinces and Territories, 1970-1985**
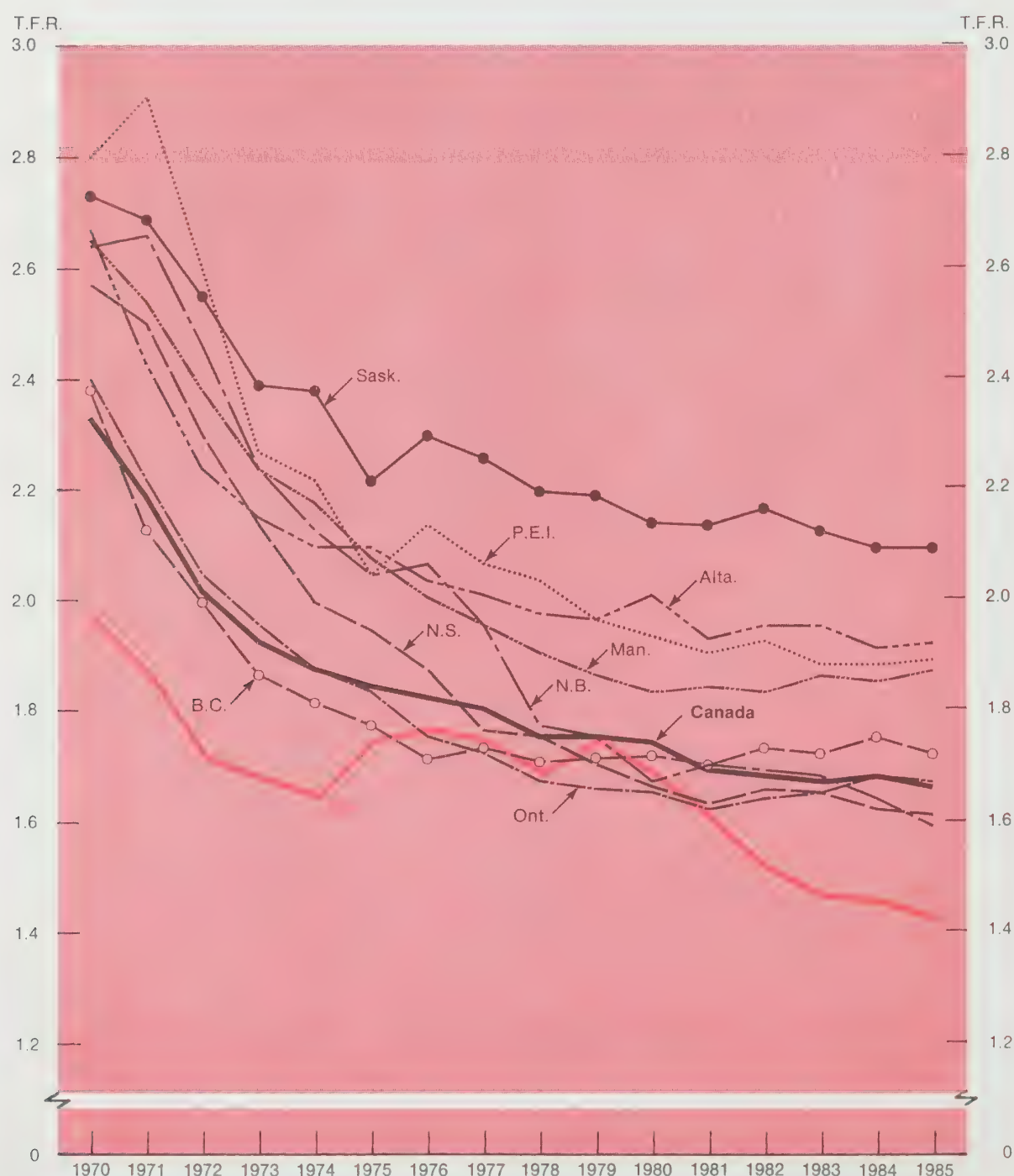


Source: Table A16.

# Table 10. Distribution of Persons Living in Common-Law Unions by Age, Canada, Based on 1981 Census Data

| Age Groups | Males | | | Females | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Common-law (1) | Total Now Married (2) | Ratio = (1) ÷ (2) x 100 | Common-law (1) | Total Now Married (2) | Ratio = (1) ÷ (2) x 100 |
| 15-19 | 7,900 | 13,900 | 56.83 | 32,000 | 66,900 | 47.83 |
| 20-24 | 83,200 | 306,600 | 27.14 | 108,900 | 524,400 | 20.77 |
| 25-29 | 87,100 | 676,600 | 12.87 | 77,000 | 785,300 | 9.80 |
| 30-34 | 60,400 | 791,900 | 7.63 | 46,900 | 807,600 | 5.81 |
| 35-39 | 37,700 | 678,900 | 5.55 | 29,200 | 655,100 | 4.46 |
| 40-44 | 24,000 | 562,100 | 4.27 | 18,100 | 536,900 | 3.37 |
| 45-49 | 17,400 | 528,200 | 3.29 | 13,100 | 494,400 | 2.65 |
| 50-54 | 12,900 | 509,300 | 2.53 | 10,200 | 477,000 | 2.14 |
| 55-59 | 8,900 | 465,600 | 1.91 | 7,200 | 443,000 | 1.62 |
| 60-64 | 5,600 | 374,400 | 1.50 | 4,600 | 333,900 | 1.38 |
| 65-69 | 3,700 | 306,300 | 1.21 | 2,700 | 244,100 | 1.11 |
| 70+ | 3,400 | 397,800 | 0.85 | 2,400 | 243,000 | 0.99 |
| **Total** | **352,200** | **5,611,500** | **6.28** | **352,200** | **5,611,500** | **6.28** |

**Source:** Statistics Canada, unpublished data.

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A comparison between Canada and the United States indicates very little difference in total fertility rate. The slightly higher rate for the white U.S. population (a TFR of 1.72) does not represent a significant difference, and the rate for the total population (1.81), is due to the fact that the non-white segment has, at 2.22, an appreciably higher TFR (Table 13).

Even though not substantial, some provincial differences in fertility exist in Canada. Briefly, the 1985 figures indicate a slightly lower fertility rate in the East, and a higher rate in the West, with Ontario at the fulcrum, almost exactly representing the national average (Chart 9). Quebec, however, deserves special attention since in 1985 this province had the lowest TFR of any province or territory in Canadian history. Since 1978, the national TFR has decreased at a rate of 1.6 percent per annum; in Quebec the decline has been 4.8 percent. At 1.43, the TFR in Quebec pulls down the national average, which, if Quebec were excluded, would approach 1.76 births per woman (Table 13).

Examination of fertility by birth order and age of mother affords an opportunity to gain a better understanding of the difference between Quebec and the other Canadian provinces. In the recent past, the TFR's by birth order for the rest of Canada became relatively stable, and, if there was any trend, it was towards a slight tendency to increase (Table 13). For Quebec, on the

**Table 11. Births by Province, 1981-1985**

| Province | Year | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1981 | 1982 | 1983 | 1984 | 1985 |
| Newfoundland | 10,130 | 9,173 | 8,929 | 8,560 | 8,500 |
| Prince Edward Island | 1,897 | 1,924 | 1,907 | 1,954 | 2,008 |
| Nova Scotia | 12,079 | 12,325 | 12,401 | 12,378 | 12,450 |
| New Brunswick | 10,503 | 10,489 | 10,518 | 10,360 | 10,121 |
| Quebec | 95,322 | 90,800 | 88,154 | 87,839 | 86,340 |
| Ontario | 122,183 | 124,856 | 126,826 | 131,296 | 132,208 |
| Manitoba | 16,073 | 16,123 | 16,602 | 16,651 | 17,097 |
| Saskatchewan | 17,209 | 17,722 | 17,847 | 18,014 | 18,162 |
| Alberta | 42,638 | 45,036 | 45,555 | 44,105 | 43,813 |
| British Columbia | 41,474 | 42,747 | 42,919 | 43,911 | 43,127 |
| Yukon | 536 | 525 | 540 | 519 | 464 |
| Northwest Territories | 1,302 | 1,362 | 1,491 | 1,444 | 1,437 |
| Canada | 371,346 | 373,082 | 373,689 | 377,031 | 375,727 |

Source: Statistics Canada, *Vital Statistics, Births and Deaths, Catalogue 84-204.*

**Table 12. Total Fertility Rate (TFR) and Age-specific Fertility Rate of Mothers, by Race of Child, United States, 1976-1984**

| Year | 15-19 | 20-24 | 25-29 | 30-34 | 35-39 | 40-44 | TFR |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Per 1,000 Women | | | | | | |
| | White Population | | | | | | |
| 1976 | 44.1 | 105.3 | 105.9 | 52.6 | 17.8 | 3.9 | 1.652 |
| 1977 | 44.1 | 107.7 | 110.9 | 55.3 | 18.0 | 3.8 | 1.703 |
| 1978 | 42.9 | 104.1 | 107.9 | 56.6 | 17.7 | 3.5 | 1.668 |
| 1979 | 43.7 | 107.0 | 110.8 | 59.0 | 18.3 | 3.5 | 1.716 |
| 1980 | 44.7 | 109.5 | 112.4 | 60.4 | 18.5 | 3.4 | 1.748 |
| 1981 | 44.6 | 106.3 | 111.3 | 60.2 | 18.7 | 3.4 | 1.726 |
| 1982 | 44.6 | 105.9 | 110.3 | 63.3 | 20.0 | 3.5 | 1.742 |
| 1983 | 43.6 | 102.6 | 108.0 | 64.0 | 21.0 | 3.5 | 1.718 |
| 1984 | 42.5 | 101.4 | 107.7 | 66.1 | 21.7 | 3.5 | 1.718 |
| | Non-white Population | | | | | | |
| 1976 | 99.9 | 138.9 | 107.6 | 59.5 | 26.9 | 6.9 | 2.222 |
| 1977 | 99.5 | 142.3 | 111.5 | 63.4 | 27.3 | 6.9 | 2.278 |
| 1978 | 96.0 | 142.1 | 111.9 | 65.2 | 26.9 | 6.4 | 2.264 |
| 1979 | 96.5 | 144.3 | 114.6 | 68.3 | 27.3 | 6.4 | 2.310 |
| 1980 | 94.6 | 145.0 | 115.5 | 70.8 | 27.9 | 6.5 | 2.323 |
| 1981 | 91.8 | 140.8 | 115.9 | 68.5 | 27.6 | 6.3 | 2.274 |
| 1982 | 91.5 | 139.3 | 114.9 | 69.0 | 28.0 | 6.2 | 2.265 |
| 1983 | 89.3 | 136.8 | 112.1 | 68.4 | 28.6 | 5.9 | 2.225 |
| 1984 | 89.0 | 136.4 | 111.5 | 68.5 | 29.2 | 6.0 | 2.224 |
| | All Races | | | | | | |
| 1976 | 52.8 | 110.3 | 106.2 | 53.6 | 19.0 | 4.3 | 1.738 |
| 1977 | 52.8 | 112.9 | 111.0 | 56.4 | 19.2 | 4.2 | 1.790 |
| 1978 | 51.5 | 109.9 | 108.5 | 57.8 | 19.0 | 3.9 | 1.760 |
| 1979 | 52.3 | 112.8 | 111.4 | 60.3 | 19.5 | 3.9 | 1.808 |
| 1980 | 53.0 | 115.1 | 112.9 | 61.9 | 19.8 | 3.9 | 1.840 |
| 1981 | 52.7 | 111.8 | 112.0 | 61.4 | 20.0 | 3.8 | 1.815 |
| 1982 | 52.9 | 111.3 | 111.0 | 64.2 | 21.1 | 3.9 | 1.828 |
| 1983 | 51.7 | 108.3 | 108.7 | 64.6 | 22.1 | 3.8 | 1.802 |
| 1984 | 50.9 | 107.3 | 108.3 | 66.5 | 22.8 | 3.9 | 1.805 |

other hand, the rates declined uniformly. The maternal age and birth order-specific rates declined at the national level (including in Quebec) for all ages up to and including 25. For ages over 25, the rates for the remainder of Canadian women increased (indicating a "catch-up" effect at older ages), whereas those for Quebec women over age 25 continued to decline. Thus, for Quebec, the TFR at all ages and birth orders has been decreasing.

The only notable change in the 1985 figures involves an increase in the fertility of Quebec women over age 25 at birth order 1. The increase was too small, however, to have had any impact on the decline in the overall TFR for Quebec.

In summary, there does not appear to be any indication that fertility is on the rise in Canada. On the other hand, the decline appears to have slowed, or even stopped. With the exception of Quebec, the national picture shows very little variation. Part of the small overall change in the recent period can be attributed to a change in tempo, whereby an apparent delay in childbearing has produced the effect that some births, and even some first births, are occurring later than they did among previous generations of Canadians.

# MORTALITY

## Introduction

The stabilization of the crude death rate at 7 per 1,000 in recent years has occurred at the same time that the population has been aging, reflecting the overall reduction in mortality in Canada. Differences in the crude death rate between provinces can largely be attributed to different age structures. The provinces with older populations (Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia and Manitoba) have relatively high rates in comparison with those parts of the country with younger populations (Newfoundland, Alberta, and in particular, the Yukon and the Northwest Territories). In 1982, however, Saskatchewan had an unusually high rate, the origin of which was an increase of almost 700 deaths from the previous year. The return of the crude death rate to the 1981 level in 1983 and 1984 confirmed the existence of an anomaly, and subsequent analysis of deaths by cause revealed that deaths associated with respiratory problems, which mainly affect the elderly, accounted for 70% of this isolated increase.

## Unexpected Changes

The best description of the current state of mortality is provided by the life table, from which the most widely known indicators – expectation of life at different ages, and especially at birth – are taken.

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## Table 13. Age-specific Fertility Rates by Birth Order, Quebec and Canada Excluding Quebec and Newfoundland, 1981-1985

| Order | Year | 15-19 (A) | 15-19 (B) | 20-24 (A) | 20-24 (B) | 25-29 (A) | 25-29 (B) | 30-34 (A) | 30-34 (B) | 35-39 (A) | 35-39 (B) | 40-44 (A) | 40-44 (B) | TFR (A) | TFR (B) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 1981 | 13.1 | 24.6 | 57.4 | 54.4 | 55.4 | 47.7 | 16.6 | 16.8 | 3.5 | 3.6 | 0.5 | 0.5 | 732.5 | 738.0 |
| | 1982 | 13.1 | 24.7 | 54.4 | 54.6 | 50.7 | 48.4 | 15.9 | 17.8 | 3.9 | 3.9 | 0.5 | 0.5 | 692.5 | 749.5 |
| | 1983 | 12.6 | 23.0 | 53.1 | 53.1 | 51.3 | 49.4 | 16.3 | 19.2 | 3.8 | 4.5 | 0.5 | 0.5 | 688.0 | 748.5 |
| | 1984 | 13.8 | 24.4 | 52.3 | 54.2 | 50.0 | 50.3 | 15.6 | 20.1 | 3.8 | 4.4 | 0.5 | 0.5 | 680.1 | 769.6 |
| | 1985 | 12.7 | 22.2 | 48.1 | 49.6 | 51.2 | 51.2 | 17.1 | 21.4 | 4.0 | 4.8 | 0.5 | 0.6 | 667.4 | 748.6 |
| 2 | 1981 | 1.6 | 4.4 | 25.1 | 32.2 | 54.1 | 47.0 | 28.1 | 24.9 | 6.2 | 5.7 | 0.6 | 0.6 | 578.5 | 574.0 |
| | 1982 | 1.6 | 4.4 | 23.5 | 31.5 | 50.4 | 46.5 | 26.0 | 26.0 | 5.8 | 6.1 | 0.6 | 0.6 | 539.5 | 575.5 |
| | 1983 | 1.6 | 4.2 | 22.6 | 30.8 | 48.8 | 46.9 | 25.4 | 27.3 | 5.3 | 6.6 | 0.6 | 0.7 | 521.5 | 582.5 |
| | 1984 | 1.8 | 4.5 | 23.2 | 32.4 | 48.8 | 48.4 | 26.0 | 28.3 | 5.4 | 6.9 | 0.6 | 0.7 | 528.9 | 606.0 |
| | 1985 | 1.7 | 4.2 | 21.0 | 30.0 | 48.3 | 49.7 | 26.5 | 30.8 | 5.8 | 7.8 | 0.6 | 0.8 | 519.4 | 616.4 |
| 3 | 1981 | 0.2 | 0.4 | 4.6 | 8.6 | 17.7 | 19.7 | 16.9 | 15.6 | 4.6 | 4.7 | 0.6 | 0.7 | 223.0 | 248.5 |
| | 1982 | 0.1 | 0.5 | 4.5 | 8.6 | 16.1 | 19.9 | 14.8 | 16.0 | 4.6 | 5.2 | 0.6 | 0.6 | 203.5 | 254.0 |
| | 1983 | 0.1 | 0.4 | 4.0 | 8.2 | 15.0 | 19.7 | 14.2 | 16.3 | 4.1 | 5.4 | 0.5 | 0.6 | 189.5 | 253.0 |
| | 1984 | 0.1 | 0.5 | 4.0 | 8.6 | 14.2 | 19.9 | 13.5 | 17.0 | 4.1 | 5.2 | 0.5 | 0.6 | 182.1 | 259.2 |
| | 1985 | 0.2 | 0.5 | 3.7 | 8.2 | 14.0 | 20.2 | 13.4 | 17.9 | 4.3 | 5.9 | 0.5 | 0.7 | 180.6 | 267.0 |
| 4 | 1981 | – | – | 0.6 | 1.6 | 3.0 | 5.3 | 4.6 | 5.6 | 2.3 | 2.6 | 0.4 | 0.5 | 54.5 | 78.0 |
| | 1982 | – | – | 0.6 | 1.6 | 2.9 | 5.3 | 4.3 | 5.8 | 2.0 | 2.7 | 0.4 | 0.5 | 52.0 | 79.5 |
| | 1983 | – | – | 0.6 | 1.5 | 2.8 | 5.2 | 3.9 | 5.8 | 2.0 | 2.7 | 0.3 | 0.5 | 48.0 | 78.5 |
| | 1984 | – | – | 0.6 | 1.6 | 2.6 | 5.5 | 3.6 | 5.7 | 1.7 | 2.6 | 0.3 | 0.4 | 43.8 | 79.2 |
| | 1985 | – | – | 0.5 | 1.5 | 2.5 | 5.4 | 3.6 | 6.2 | 1.8 | 2.9 | 0.3 | 0.5 | 43.4 | 82.9 |
| 5 and over | 1981 | – | – | 0.1 | 0.4 | 0.8 | 1.8 | 1.6 | 3.2 | 1.6 | 2.7 | 0.6 | 1.0 | 23.5 | 45.5 |
| | 1982 | – | – | 0.1 | 0.4 | 1.0 | 1.9 | 1.4 | 3.0 | 1.4 | 2.6 | 0.5 | 1.0 | 22.0 | 44.5 |
| | 1983 | – | – | 0.1 | 0.3 | 0.7 | 1.9 | 1.4 | 3.1 | 1.3 | 2.3 | 0.5 | 0.8 | 20.0 | 42.0 |
| | 1984 | – | – | 0.1 | 0.4 | 0.7 | 1.9 | 1.3 | 2.9 | 1.2 | 2.2 | 0.4 | 0.8 | 17.9 | 41.4 |
| | 1985 | – | – | 0.1 | 0.4 | 0.7 | 1.9 | 1.2 | 3.0 | 1.1 | 2.2 | 0.4 | 0.7 | 16.8 | 41.6 |
| All Orders | 1981 | 14.9 | 29.4 | 87.8 | 97.2 | 131.0 | 121.5 | 67.8 | 66.1 | 18.2 | 19.3 | 2.7 | 3.3 | 1612.0[1] | 1684.0[1] |
| | 1982 | 14.8 | 29.6 | 83.1 | 96.7 | 121.1 | 122.0 | 62.4 | 68.6 | 17.9 | 20.5 | 2.6 | 3.2 | 1509.5[1] | 1703.0[1] |
| | 1983 | 14.3 | 27.6 | 80.4 | 93.9 | 118.6 | 123.1 | 61.2 | 71.7 | 16.5 | 21.5 | 2.4 | 3.1 | 1467.0[1] | 1704.5[1] |
| | 1984 | 15.8 | 29.4 | 80.1 | 97.1 | 116.2 | 125.9 | 60.0 | 74.1 | 16.2 | 21.4 | 2.2 | 3.0 | 1452.8[1] | 1771.5[1] |
| | 1985 | 14.5 | 26.9 | 73.4 | 89.6 | 116.6 | 128.5 | 61.8 | 79.3 | 17.0 | 23.6 | 2.2 | 3.4 | 1427.7[1] | 1756.5[1] |

(A) Quebec.
(B) Canada excluding Quebec and Newfoundland.
[1] Not including births where age of mother and/or birth order are unknown.
**Source:** Statistics Canada, Special Tabulations.

After a rapid rise in the value of life expectancy at birth until about 1956, the rate of improvement for Canadian males slowed considerably, leading many demographers around the 1960's to predict that further gains would be progressively less significant. The substantial gains made during the second half of the 1970's were, therefore, largely unexpected. Nonetheless, the provisional tables calculated for the early years of the 1980's seem to indicate that the pattern of increase is being maintained (Table 4).

The evolution of life expectancy for females has been different. Until recently, female gains were greater than those for males, even though females also experienced a slowdown during the 1960's. In the most recent period, however, the change for females was not as pronounced as that for males. Consequently, the 1976-81 period saw, for the first time, the 5-year gain in life expectancy for males exceed that for females (Chart 10).

Chart 10
**Increase in Life Expectancy at Birth**
**by Five-Year Intervals, Canada, 1931-1981**

Increase (in years of life)                                                    Increase (in years of life)



Five-year intervals

Source: Table A12.

In the period up to the mid-1970s, the largest part of the gains in life expectancy for both sexes were the result of declines in infant mortality, with the gains made at other ages providing a relatively smaller contribution. Progress in the area of infant mortality has by no means stopped, but the impact of the changes made in recent years has become weaker and is now overshadowed by improvements made at the more advanced ages. For example, females made a gain of 2.28 years in life expectancy at birth between 1946 and 1951, of which 19 percent was attributable to mortality reduction in the first year of life. In contrast, the percent attributable reduction for those aged 65 to 80 was only 11 percent. Between 1976 and 1981, however, the figures changed to 18 and 23 percent, respectively. The situation for males is even more striking, with the reduction in infant mortality accounting for 39 percent of the gain between 1946 and 1951, while the figure for the 65 to 80 group was only 8 percent. Between 1976 and 1981 the corresponding percentages were 16 and 18, respectively.

The gains in life expectancy at younger ages are only slightly less remarkable. Here again, the life table provides a clear indication. Out of 100,000 life table males subject to the risk of dying at various ages in 1946, fully 64,613 were still living at age 65. For 1981, the figure had increased to 74,718 – representing an increment of more than 10,000 (or 16%).

## Infant Mortality

Infant mortality has declined almost without interruption since the collection of information on the subject began. Over the past ten years, the rate has again dropped by almost 50% (Chart 11). With a rate of 7.9 per 1,000 in 1985, Canada's rate is lower than that in the United States (10.8 in 1984) and most of the countries of Western Europe, with the exception of Sweden.

Quebec, which once had the highest provincial rate of infant mortality, now has the lowest rate in Canada. This, above all, is the result of very low post-neonatal mortality (2.1 per thousand live births in Quebec vs. 3.0 for Canada overall, in 1984). When such low levels are reached, annual variations should come as no surprise. For the most part, they reflect random fluctuations as a function of the small numbers involved.

Neonatal mortality (deaths in the first month of life), while more resistant to the efforts of the sciences, is also declining throughout Canada. The 1984 Quebec rate equalled the national average for neonatal infant mortality (5.2 per thousand), but the lowest rate was found in New Brunswick (4.0).

## Causes of Death by Province: Changes over Ten Years

Description of mortality in terms of cause by province is generally of limited interest due to the high mobility of the population. Provincial measurements are made for the purpose of comparison, and such comparisons give rise to

questions. The matter of genetic inheritance aside, these questions relate mainly to life styles (work and so on) and to the effectiveness of a province's health and medical services. Deaths, however, are classified by the deceased person's place of residence, and there is no indication how long the person had been living there. There is a great deal of interprovincial migration, and it is known that such migration can be directly or indirectly based, to some extent, on health considerations. Therefore, in principle, a province's mortality level cannot be closely linked to the effectiveness of its medical system. If decennial

Chart 11
**Infant Mortality Rate Per 1,000 Live Births,
Canada, 1931-1985**

Source: Table A13.

measurements based on standardized rates are compared, however, the provincial mortality levels by major causes of death yield interesting information[7]. Table A14 shows the 1983 number and percentage distributions for the major causes of death by province and territory, and for Canada overall. Detailed discussion of standardized mortality rates by cause, province and time period follows below.

## Cancer

Table 14 shows that there has been little change in the pattern of cancer mortality for Canada as a whole over the 10-year period from 1972-73 to 1982-83. Only very small changes in an upward direction for males, and in a downward direction for females, occurred. As far as males are concerned, Quebec has the highest provincial rate – appreciably higher than the national average – while the westernmost provinces (Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia) have distinctly lower rates. Whereas the respective positions of the provinces changed very little in ten years, the level in each has risen – appreciably so in New Brunswick and Saskatchewan. For females, the slight decrease at the national level is the result of decreases in only a few provinces, Quebec in particular. The fact that Quebec has the lowest mortality connected with uterine and breast cancer has played a major role in the maintenance of a low overall rate of cancer in that province. Nova Scotia experienced an increase over the ten-year period, and now has the highest provincial rate.

It should be noted that mortality connected with cancer of the respiratory system has increased appreciably at the national level. Male deaths from cancers of this kind have increased from 50 to more than 60 per 100,000 in ten years (Table 15). All of the provinces, at various levels, have experienced increases. New Brunswick had one of the lowest rates ten years ago, but has experienced the most rapid increase. Quebec has by far the highest rate of all the provinces (77.5 per 100,000). Next in line is Nova Scotia, with a rate of only 63.3. The high mortality rate from this type of cancer is solely responsible for Quebec's high mortality rate for all types of cancer combined.

For the female population, the ten-year period saw a large increase in respiratory system cancer. Fortunately, the level was low to begin with. However, if this cause of death continues to advance in the next ten years

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[7] The standardized rate is an artificial summary index obtained by applying to a standard population the age-specific rates observed in the populations to be compared (which may be different populations or the same population at two different times). The differences observed can therefore not be ascribed to different age structures. This is important since some diseases affect certain age groups more than others.

## Table 14. Standardized Mortality Rates[1] (per 100,000) for Cancer, Canada, the Provinces and Territories, 1972-73 and 1982-83

For 1972-1973 - Causes 45 to 61, List A (8th revision)
For 1982-1983 - Causes 37 to 93, List A (9th revision)

| Province | Males | | | | | | Females | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1972-1973 | | 1982-1983 | | Change | | 1972-1973 | | 1982-1983 | | Change | |
| | Rank | Rate | Rank | Rate | (%) | | Rank | Rate | Rank | Rate | (%) | |
| Newfoundland | 4 | 170.0 | 4 | 176.7 | 3.9 | | 4 | 142.1 | 7 | 131.2 | -7.7 | |
| Prince Edward Island[2] | 7 | 151.6 | 7 | 171.1 | 12.9 | | 10 | 120.0 | 3 | 140.6 | 17.2 | |
| Nova Scotia | 2 | 176.0 | 2 | 188.4 | 7.0 | | 2 | 150.1 | 1 | 159.5 | 6.3 | |
| New Brunswick | 9 | 148.2 | 5 | 176.3 | 19.0 | | 3 | 143.0 | 6 | 132.8 | -7.1 | |
| Quebec | 1 | 199.2 | 1 | 202.8 | 1.8 | | 1 | 154.2 | 5 | 138.7 | -10.1 | |
| Ontario | 3 | 172.8 | 3 | 177.1 | 2.5 | | 5 | 137.7 | 4 | 139.5 | 1.3 | |
| Manitoba | 5 | 163.7 | 6 | 171.8 | 4.9 | | 6 | 137.4 | 2 | 142.2 | 3.5 | |
| Saskatchewan | 10 | 125.5 | 9 | 157.8 | 25.7 | | 8 | 123.0 | 10 | 121.1 | -1.5 | |
| Alberta | 8 | 148.9 | 10 | 156.8 | 5.3 | | 9 | 120.5 | 9 | 125.7 | 4.3 | |
| British Columbia | 6 | 155.4 | 8 | 160.7 | 3.4 | | 7 | 130.4 | 8 | 130.6 | 0.2 | |
| Yukon[2] | | 149.3 | | 201.4 | 34.9 | | | 123.0 | | ... | ... | |
| Northwest Territories[2] | | 179.3 | | 242.5 | 35.2 | | | 192.9 | | ... | ... | |
| Canada | | **171.6** | | **178.6** | **4.1** | | | **139.8** | | **136.5** | **-2.4** | |
| Coefficent of Variation[3] (%) | | 12.0 | | 8.1 | | | | 13.0 | | 7.8 | | |

[1] Age structure of Canada in 1976 was used as standard.
[2] Because of the small numbers, the fluctuations may be random.
[3] Excluding the Yukon and the Northwest Territories.
**Source:** Statistics Canada, unpublished data.

# Table 15. Standardized Mortality Rates[1] (per 100,000) for Cancers of the Larynx and Bronchial Tubes, Canada, the Provinces and Territories, 1972-73 and 1982-83

For 1972-1973 - Causes 50 and 51, List A (8th revision)
For 1982-1983 - Causes 56 and 57, List A (9th revision)

| Province | Males 1972-1973 Rank | Rate | Males 1982-1983 Rank | Rate | Change (%) | Females 1972-1973 Rank | Rate | Females 1982-1983 Rank | Rate | Change (%) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Newfoundland | 6 | 37.9 | 5 | 57.8 | 52.5 | 10 | 5.6 | 10 | 10.0 | 78.6 |
| Prince Edward Island[2] | 8 | 36.0 | 6 | 55.5 | 54.2 | 9 | 6.8 | 9 | 10.7 | 57.4 |
| Nova Scotia | 3 | 47.6 | 2 | 63.3 | 33.0 | 3 | 10.4 | 4 | 17.4 | 67.3 |
| New Brunswick | 9 | 35.3 | 3 | 62.2 | 76.2 | 6 | 9.5 | 5 | 16.2 | 70.5 |
| Quebec | 1 | 57.4 | 1 | 77.5 | 35.0 | 2 | 10.7 | 7 | 15.1 | 41.1 |
| Ontario | 2 | 50.8 | 4 | 59.4 | 16.9 | 4 | 10.1 | 2 | 19.7 | 95.0 |
| Manitoba | 5 | 46.9 | 7 | 54.7 | 16.6 | 5 | 9.9 | 3 | 18.0 | 81.8 |
| Saskatchewan | 10 | 33.9 | 9 | 47.7 | 40.7 | 8 | 7.9 | 8 | 14.6 | 84.8 |
| Alberta | 7 | 36.6 | 10 | 46.6 | 27.3 | 7 | 9.1 | 6 | 16.0 | 75.8 |
| British Columbia | 4 | 47.2 | 8 | 51.4 | 8.9 | 1 | 12.6 | 1 | 21.7 | 72.2 |
| Yukon[2] | | 49.9 | | 84.1 | 68.5 | | ... | | 26.8 | ... |
| Northwest Territories[2] | | 62.2 | | 87.2 | 40.2 | | 53.0 | | 60.5 | 14.2 |
| **Canada** | | **49.2** | | **61.4** | **24.8** | | **10.2** | | **18.5** | **81.4** |
| Coefficent of Variation[3] (%) | | 18.9 | | 15.6 | | | 21.9 | | 22.8 | |

[1] Age structure of Canada for 1976 was used as standard.
[2] Because of the small numbers, the fluctuations may be random.
[3] Excluding the Yukon and the Northwest Territories.
**Source:** Statistics Canada, unpublished data.

as it has in the past ten, the rate in 1993 will be 34 per 100,000, almost the same as the 1973 provincial rate for males in the least affected provinces. Nearly all studies have linked smoking with these types of cancer, and while smoking was not a widespread phenomenon among earlier generations of females, increases have been noted more recently. The increase in mortality connected with respiratory system cancers can, therefore, be regarded as being a consequence of the increased propensity to smoke observed within the female population. Cancer has a long latency period, and the number of women who smoke is still growing. Of interest is the fact that the rank order of the provinces, for both 1973 and 1983, is not the same for females and males. For females, British Columbia has the highest rate, followed closely by Ontario, where the rate almost doubled in ten years.

**Cardiovascular Diseases**

(a) Ischaemic heart diseases

Ischaemic heart diseases have been on the decline in North America in the past several years. The death rate for this group of causes for the country as a whole is less than three-quarters what it was ten years ago, for both males and females (Table 16). Quite unexpectedly, the rate for females is the same as that for cancer mortality, whereas historically, the cardiovascular rate was distinctly higher. The size of the decrease has been almost the same for both sexes and in all provinces. However, attention should be called to the following:

- the distinctly smaller reduction in both the male and female rates in Newfoundland;

- the particularly large reduction in the female rate in Quebec and British Columbia, and;

- the generally low level in Western Canada.

(b) Cerebrovascular diseases

As with deaths from ischaemic heart diseases, deaths from cerebrovascular diseases have decreased significantly in all provinces. Although Newfoundland still has the highest provincial rate, it is also the province that has made the most progress (Table 17). The differences between the provinces are currently very small (coefficients of variation of 12.6% for males and 8.6% for females).

**Traffic Accidents**

Traffic accident mortality rates for males have always been higher than those for females, but both have decreased dramatically (more than 40%) at the national level in the ten-year period represented in Table 18. All of the provinces

**Table 16. Standardized Mortality Rates[1] (per 100,000) for Ischaemic Heart Disease, Canada, the Provinces and Territories, 1972-73 and 1982-83**

For 1972-1973 - Causes 83, List A (8th revision)

For 1982-1983 - Causes 136 to 139, List A (9th revision)

| Province | Males | | | | | Females | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1972-1973 | | 1982-1983 | | Change | 1972-1973 | | 1982-1983 | | Change |
| | Rank | Rate | Rank | Rate | (%) | Rank | Rate | Rank | Rate | (%) |
| Newfoundland | 6 | 264.7 | 4 | 226.6 | -14.4 | 4 | 182.0 | 1 | 167.5 | -8.0 |
| Prince Edward Island[2] | 2 | 317.6 | 1 | 237.3 | -25.3 | 7 | 167.8 | 7 | 121.4 | -27.7 |
| Nova Scotia | 3 | 311.8 | 3 | 228.5 | -26.7 | 5 | 178.2 | 4 | 135.6 | -23.9 |
| New Brunswick | 4 | 307.2 | 5 | 225.5 | -26.6 | 3 | 183.0 | 3 | 137.2 | -25.0 |
| Quebec | 5 | 300.4 | 6 | 213.3 | -29.0 | 2 | 197.5 | 5 | 130.7 | -33.8 |
| Ontario | 1 | 325.1 | 2 | 230.6 | -29.1 | 1 | 208.8 | 2 | 153.0 | -26.7 |
| Manitoba | 8 | 251.8 | 7 | 206.7 | -17.9 | 8 | 157.6 | 6 | 128.4 | -18.5 |
| Saskatchewan | 10 | 214.1 | 10 | 180.2 | -15.8 | 10 | 130.0 | 10 | 109.7 | -15.6 |
| Alberta | 9 | 232.5 | 9 | 184.6 | -20.6 | 9 | 146.0 | 9 | 114.1 | -21.8 |
| British Columbia | 7 | 255.8 | 8 | 185.3 | -27.6 | 6 | 171.4 | 8 | 116.6 | -32.0 |
| Yukon[2] | | 192.6 | | 198.5 | 3.1 | | 23.6 | | 135.5 | (474.2)[2] |
| Northwest Territories[2] | | 153.0 | | 110.7 | -27.6 | | 51.9 | | 25.6 | -50.7 |
| **Canada** | | **288.9** | | **213.3** | **-26.2** | | **189.7** | | **136.7** | **-27.9** |
| Coefficent of Variation[3] (%) | | 14.1 | | 10.1 | | | 13.6 | | 13.7 | |

1 Age structure of Canada for 1976 was used as standard.
2 Because of the small numbers, the fluctuations may be random.
3 Excluding the Yukon and the Northwest Territories.
**Source:** Statistics Canada, unpublished data.

## Table 17. Standardized Mortality Rates[1] (per 100,000) for Cerebrovascular Disease, Canada, the Provinces and Territories, 1972-73 and 1982-83

For 1972-1973 - Cause 85, List A (8th revision)
For 1982-1983 - Causes 149 to 155, List A (9th revision)

| Province | Males | | | | | | Females | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1972-1973 | | 1982-1983 | | Change | | 1972-1973 | | 1982-1983 | | Change | |
| | Rank | Rate | Rank | Rate | (%) | | Rank | Rate | Rank | Rate | (%) | |
| Newfoundland | 1 | 106.9 | 1 | 55.9 | -47.7 | | 1 | 112.5 | 1 | 64.6 | -42.6 | |
| Prince Edward Island[2] | 5 | 75.7 | 10 | 34.4 | -54.6 | | 8 | 78.0 | 10 | 46.7 | -40.1 | |
| Nova Scotia | 2 | 84.1 | 3 | 48.1 | -42.8 | | 2 | 98.3 | 2 | 59.6 | -39.4 | |
| New Brunswick | 6 | 69.7 | 5 | 46.3 | -33.6 | | 6 | 80.3 | 9 | 52.1 | -35.1 | |
| Quebec | 3 | 80.4 | 2 | 49.3 | -38.7 | | 3 | 83.3 | 5 | 54.1 | -35.1 | |
| Ontario | 4 | 75.9 | 4 | 46.6 | -38.6 | | 4 | 83.3 | 3 | 56.5 | -32.2 | |
| Manitoba | 9 | 63.1 | 6 | 46.3 | -26.6 | | 9 | 77.8 | 7 | 53.6 | -31.1 | |
| Saskatchewan | 10 | 63.0 | 8 | 42.7 | -32.2 | | 10 | 71.7 | 6 | 54.1 | -24.5 | |
| Alberta | 7 | 64.0 | 9 | 40.2 | -37.2 | | 7 | 78.9 | 4 | 55.6 | -29.5 | |
| British Columbia | 8 | 64.0 | 7 | 44.2 | -30.9 | | 5 | 80.6 | 8 | 52.5 | -34.9 | |
| Yukon[2] | | 14.2 | | 9.4 | -33.8 | | | 31.8 | | 28.1 | -11.6 | |
| Northwest Territories[2] | | 69.5 | | 22.8 | -67.2 | | | 36.2 | | 9.5 | -73.8 | |
| **Canada** | | **73.0** | | **46.4** | **-36.4** | | | **83.5** | | **55.2** | **-33.9** | |
| Coefficent of Variation[3] (%) | | 18.3 | | 12.6 | | | | 14.2 | | 8.6 | | |

1 Age structure of Canada in 1976 was used as standard.
2 Because of the small numbers, the fluctuations may be random.
3 Excluding the Yukon and the Northwest Territories.
**Source:** Statistics Canada, unpublished data.

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**Table 18. Standardized Mortality Rates[1] (per 100,000) for Traffic Accidents, Canada, the Provinces and Territories, 1972-73 and 1982-83**

For 1972-1973 - Causes AE 138, List A (8th revision)
For 1982-1983 - Causes AE 235 to 241, List A (9th revision)

| Province | Males | | | | | Females | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1972-1973 | | 1982-1983 | | Change | 1972-1973 | | 1982-1983 | | Change |
| | Rank | Rate | Rank | Rate | (%) | Rank | Rate | Rank | Rate | (%) |
| Newfoundland | 10 | 29.0 | 8 | 24.0 | -17.2 | 9 | 13.3 | 8 | 8.4 | -36.8 |
| Prince Edward Island[2] | 2 | 53.9 | 5 | 28.0 | -48.1 | 1 | 26.1 | 9 | 7.9 | -69.7 |
| Nova Scotia | 4 | 50.5 | 3 | 30.5 | -39.6 | 7 | 15.3 | 5 | 10.3 | -32.7 |
| New Brunswick | 1 | 57.3 | 2 | 33.6 | -41.4 | 3 | 18.4 | 2 | 11.8 | -35.9 |
| Quebec | 3 | 51.3 | 7 | 25.0 | -51.3 | 2 | 18.9 | 7 | 8.9 | -52.9 |
| Ontario | 8 | 37.1 | 10 | 20.3 | -45.3 | 8 | 13.4 | 10 | 7.7 | -42.5 |
| Manitoba | 9 | 31.4 | 9 | 21.2 | -32.5 | 10 | 11.6 | 6 | 9.5 | -18.1 |
| Saskatchewan | 7 | 40.9 | 1 | 36.8 | -10.0 | 5 | 16.6 | 1 | 11.9 | -28.3 |
| Alberta | 6 | 45.7 | 6 | 26.5 | -42.0 | 6 | 15.8 | 3 | 11.8 | -25.3 |
| British Columbia | 5 | 48.8 | 4 | 30.2 | -38.1 | 4 | 18.3 | 4 | 11.4 | -37.7 |
| Yukon[2] | | 91.8 | | 34.2 | -62.7 | | 22.5 | | 42.0 | 86.7 |
| Northwest Territories[2] | | 51.6 | | 48.3 | -6.4 | | 15.2 | | 5.3 | -65.1 |
| **Canada** | | **43.8** | | **24.9** | **-43.2** | | **16.1** | | **9.3** | **-42.2** |
| Coefficent of Variation[3] (%) | | 21.6 | | 19.1 | | | 24.3 | | 17.0 | |

[1] Age structure of Canada in 1976 was used as standard.
[2] Because of the small numbers, the fluctuations may be random.
[3] Excluding the Yukon and the Northwest Territories.
**Source:** Statistics Canada, unpublished data.

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participated in the decrease, however, the reduction was relatively small in Newfoundland and Saskatchewan, and was largest in Quebec (51%). In 1983, Ontario had the lowest rate.

In short, after ten years of fighting the main causes of death, regional differences still remain in Canada. The convergence of the coefficients of variation at the bottom of the various tables, however, indicates a reduction in regional disparities, in keeping with that observed for other sociodemographic phenomena.

## Suicide

Suicide, is a cause of death that has always attracted a great deal of attention, and on which a close eye has been kept. Care must be taken, however, to distinguish suicide from attempted suicide. Vital statistics tell us only how many people have died through suicide. In this context, comparison of the average for 1980-1981 with that for 1984-85 reveals a few changes, but no major transformations. In considering the age-specific trend in suicide mortality since 1981 (Table 19), with the exception of those in the oldest age group and the 45-49 age group (for which a slight decline is observed), the rates for males have increased only very slightly. As a result, the standardized rate rose from 27.5 in 1981 to 28.1 per 100,000 in 1984, but declined to 26.3 in 1985. The increase between 1981 and 1984 was certainly not negligible, but the term "epidemic" would be inappropriate, especially when considering the fact that the absolute number of suicides increased by only about 350 in the 1980 to 1983 period (1980: 2,534 cases; 1981: 2,570; 1982: 2,726; 1983: 2,885).

The increase in propensity to commit suicide observed in 1984 was part of an overall trend that had been evolving since the 1950's. The trend is in the other direction for females, for whom the standardized rate has tended to decrease (9.6 in 1976, 8.7 in 1981, 8.2 in 1984 and 7.1 in 1985). The rates are declining for women of almost all ages.

There are also marked differences among the provinces, especially for females, where the coefficients of variation were almost double those for males in both the 1972-73 and 1982-83 periods (Table 20). For both periods and both sexes, Newfoundland and British Columbia had the lowest and the highest rates respectively, and were far from the national average. The sharpest increases in suicide were noted for males, where the overall change was 19.1 percent over the ten-year period. Particularly noteworthy in this respect were: Newfoundland (57.7); New Brunswick (56.2), and; Québec (56.2). Among females, where the general trend is toward lower rates, Québec experienced an increase of 42.4 percent over the period.

**Table 19. Age-specific Suicide Mortality Rates (per 100,000), Canada, 1950, 1976, 1981, 1984 and 1985**

| Age Group | Sex | 1951[1] | 1976[1] | 1981[1] | 1984[1] | 1985[1] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 15-19 | M | 3.9 | 18.6 | 20.3 | 22.0 | 20.1 |
| | F | 1.8 | 4.5 | 3.8 | 3.5 | 3.5 |
| 20-24 | M | 8.8 | 33.6 | 32.1 | 33.0 | 31.4 |
| | F | 3.2 | 7.7 | 6.5 | 5.0 | 4.7 |
| 25-29 | M | 7.6 | 28.1 | 28.9 | 31.0 | 27.7 |
| | F | 3.9 | 8.6 | 7.5 | 7.0 | 6.3 |
| 30-34 | M | 10.4 | 24.3 | 26.6 | 29.0 | 26.5 |
| | F | 3.8 | 10.4 | 8.0 | 8.5 | 7.2 |
| 35-39 | M | 13.2 | 25.2 | 24.7 | 24.5 | 23.9 |
| | F | 4.6 | 10.9 | 8.6 | 9.0 | 7.5 |
| 40-44 | M | 19.6 | 27.3 | 26.2 | 28.0 | 25.3 |
| | F | 6.4 | 10.8 | 10.4 | 11.5 | 9.6 |
| 45-49 | M | 21.6 | 29.3 | 29.1 | 22.5 | 24.9 |
| | F | 7.2 | 14.0 | 12.4 | 11.5 | 9.6 |
| 50-54 | M | 26.4 | 32.7 | 29.7 | 30.0 | 30.2 |
| | F | 8.3 | 13.4 | 13.6 | 11.5 | 9.9 |
| 55-59 | M | 27.2 | 26.6 | 29.6 | 32.0 | 29.5 |
| | F | 7.3 | 13.7 | 12.3 | 11.0 | 9.8 |
| 60-64 | M | 30.8 | 24.1 | 27.2 | 29.0 | 25.1 |
| | F | 9.0 | 11.9 | 11.2 | 11.0 | 8.8 |
| 65-69 | M | 28.2 | 24.3 | 26.8 | 26.0 | 24.2 |
| | F | 9.3 | 9.9 | 10.3 | 11.5 | 8.8 |
| 70-74 | M | 29.5 | 26.3 | 30.1 | 30.5 | 29.2 |
| | F | 6.3 | 8.4 | 9.3 | 8.0 | 7.0 |
| 75-79 | M | 32.8 | 24.9 | 34.4 | 35.0 | 28.1 |
| | F | 5.9 | 5.8 | 7.1 | 6.0 | 5.8 |
| 80-84 | M | 25.1 | 21.2 | 41.7 | 36.5 | 32.4 |
| | F | 2.0 | 7.3 | 6.9 | 8.0 | 5.0 |
| Standardized Rate[2] | M | 15.7 | 26.5 | 27.5 | 28.1 | 26.3 |
| | F | 5.2 | 9.6 | 8.7 | 8.2 | 7.1 |

[1] Averages for 1950 and 1951, 1975 and 1976, 1980 and 1981, 1983 and 1984, 1984 and 1985, respectively.
[2] Age structure of Canada in 1976 was used as standard.
**Source:** Statistics Canada, *Causes of Death,* Catalogue 84-203.

**Table 20. Standardized Mortality Rates[1] (per 100,000) for Suicide, Canada, the Provinces and Territories, 1972-73 and 1982-83**

For 1972-1973 - Cause AE 147, List A (8th revision)
For 1982-1983 - Causes AE 264 to 270, List A (9th revision)

| Province | Males | | | | | Females | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1972-1973 | | 1982-1983 | | Change | 1972-1973 | | 1982-1983 | | Change |
| | Rank | Rate | Rank | Rate | (%) | Rank | Rate | Rank | Rate | (%) |
| Newfoundland | 10 | 7.1 | 10 | 11.2 | 57.7 | 9 | 1.9 | 10 | 1.4 | -26.3 |
| Prince Edward Island[2] | 8 | 15.6 | 9 | 17.7 | 13.5 | 10 | 0.9 | 7 | 4.3 | ... |
| Nova Scotia | 5 | 19.1 | 7 | 22.7 | 18.8 | 7 | 4.8 | 8 | 4.1 | -14.6 |
| New Brunswick | 9 | 14.5 | 5 | 22.8 | 57.2 | 8 | 3.5 | 9 | 3.8 | 8.6 |
| Quebec | 7 | 16.2 | 3 | 25.3 | 56.2 | 6 | 5.9 | 2 | 8.4 | 42.4 |
| Ontario | 6 | 17.7 | 8 | 18.4 | 4.0 | 2 | 8.4 | 4 | 6.0 | -28.6 |
| Manitoba | 4 | 19.7 | 6 | 22.8 | 15.7 | 3 | 6.8 | 5 | 5.5 | -19.1 |
| Saskatchewan | 2 | 23.3 | 2 | 26.1 | 12.0 | 4 | 6.6 | 6 | 5.4 | -18.2 |
| Alberta | 3 | 20.4 | 4 | 24.4 | 19.7 | 5 | 6.6 | 3 | 7.1 | 7.6 |
| British Columbia | 1 | 23.5 | 1 | 26.4 | 12.7 | 1 | 11.0 | 1 | 8.9 | -19.1 |
| Yukon[2] | | 62.3 | | 50.7 | -18.6 | | 10.8 | | 10.8 | 0.0 |
| Northwest Territories[2] | | 57.2 | | 40.2 | -29.7 | | 12.7 | | 14.7 | 15.7 |
| **Canada** | | **18.3** | | **21.8** | **19.1** | | **7.4** | | **6.3** | **-14.9** |
| Coefficent of Variation[3] (%) | | 27.1 | | 21.8 | | | 47.0 | | 41.1 | |

[1] Age structure of Canada in 1976 was used as standard.
[2] Because of the small numbers, the fluctuations may be random.
[3] Excluding the Yukon and the Northwest Territories.
**Source:** Statistics Canada, unpublished data.

# MIGRATION

## International Immigrants

Since the end of World War II, immigration to Canada has behaved in a cyclical fashion. The average period for each cycle has been eight or nine years, with peaks occurring in 1951 (190,000), 1957 (200,000), 1967 and 1974 (220,000), and in 1980 (a "low peak" of only 140,000) (Chart 12). The 1983 and 1984 lows mark a departure from the established trend, insofar as they stem from a decision in November 1982 to reduce immigration levels. The brunt of this cut was borne by the "independents" and the "assisted relatives" classes[8], as the combined number of immigrants in these classes dropped in the succeeding years to about half that recorded in 1982 (Table 21). The "independents" class generally contains most of those who plan to enter the labour force, and it was this group of immigrants, in particular, who were the target of the cut-back. The number of immigrants in the family class was virtually unchanged.

While all areas of origin[9] were affected, some experienced more reductions than others. The European countries that have traditionally supplied most of the "selected workers" group of immigrants have experienced the largest decreases. This was particularly true in the case of Great Britain, from where 19,000 such immigrants originated in 1981, but only 14,500 in 1982, and less than 5,000 in 1983 and 1984 (Table 22). In contrast, because of the political upheaval that afflicted Poland, Canada admitted 4,000 Poles in 1981, 9,000 in 1982, and an additional 5,000 in each of 1983 and 1984. This compares with annual levels of only slightly over 1,000 in previous years.

The flow of immigrants from Asia was reduced less drastically (a decrease of 18% from 1981) with fewer coming from India and slightly more from Hong Kong. Since the beginning of the decade, progressively fewer have been immigrating from the United States, and the number of immigrants from the Caribbean and South American countries has also been gradually declining.

The average age of immigrants has risen substantially over the past three years, to 31 for males and almost 33 for females (Table A15). This high average age stems from the selection process. Constricting the admissibility of "selected workers" reduces the admittance of young adults and their young children. At the same time, the "family class" is comprised of relatively older people who, consequently, account for a larger proportion of total immigrants. As a result, 1983 marked the first time ever that Canada admitted more persons over age 65 than under age 5. Since the number of immigrants is small, however, the impact on the overall age structure of the Canadian population is not significant.

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[8] For a definition of these classes, see *Current Demographic Analysis: Report on the Demographic Situation in Canada, 1983.* Statistics Canada, Catalogue 91-209E.

[9] Origin refers to country of birth, not country of last residence.

Chart 12

**Numbers of Immigrants and Immigration Rates, Canada, 1944-1983**



Immigration rate per 1,000

Number of immigrants

Left-hand scale

Right-hand scale
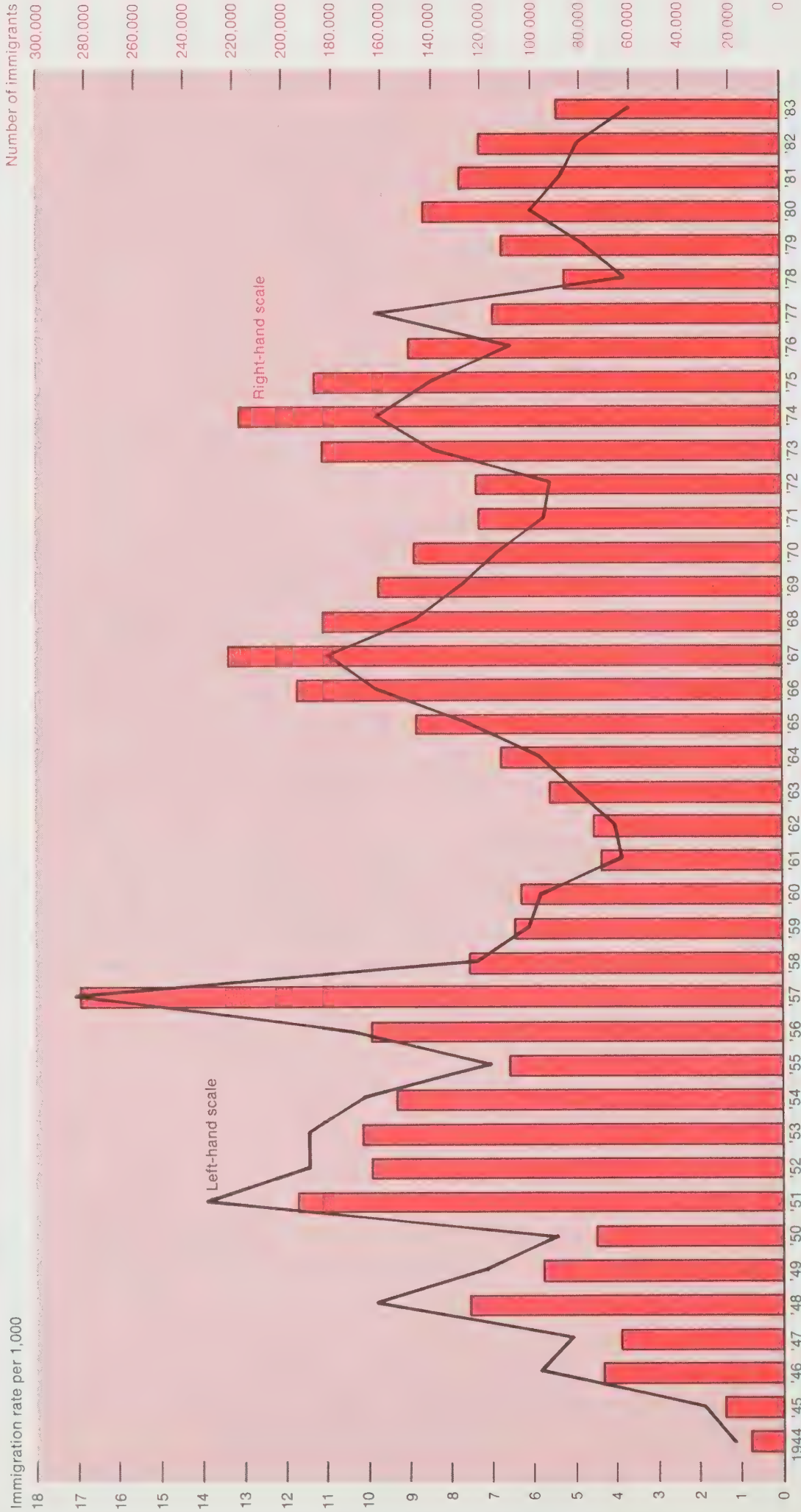
Source: Employment and Immigration, *Immigration Statistics 1983.*

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## Table 21. International Immigration by Major Classes, Canada, 1970-1985

| Year | Total | Family | | Independent Immigrants and Assisted Relatives | | Refugees and Designated Classes | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Number | Number | % | Number | % | Number | % |
| 1970 | 147,713 | 32,263 | 21.8 | 115,450[1] | ... | ... | ... |
| 1971 | 121,900 | 33,450 | 27.4 | 88,450[1] | ... | ... | ... |
| 1972 | 122,006 | 33,019 | 27.1 | 83,807 | 68.7 | 5,180 | 4.2 |
| 1973 | 184,200 | 41,677 | 22.6 | 140,164 | 76.1 | 2,359 | 1.3 |
| 1974 | 218,465 | 54,232 | 24.8 | 162,567 | 74.4 | 1,666 | 0.8 |
| 1975 | 187,881 | 64,124 | 34.1 | 118,191 | 62.9 | 5,566 | 3.0 |
| 1976 | 149,429 | 60,830 | 40.7 | 76,848 | 51.4 | 11,751 | 7.9 |
| 1977 | 114,914 | 51,355 | 44.7 | 56,259 | 48.9 | 7,300 | 6.4 |
| 1978 | 86,313 | 45,540 | 52.8 | 36,518 | 42.3 | 4,255 | 4.9 |
| 1979 | 112,096 | 46,763 | 41.7 | 37,454 | 33.4 | 27,879 | 24.9 |
| 1980 | 143,129 | 51,039 | 35.7 | 51,744 | 36.2 | 40,334 | 28.2 |
| 1981 | 128,618 | 51,017 | 39.7 | 62,622 | 48.7 | 14,979 | 11.6 |
| 1982 | 121,147 | 49,980 | 41.2 | 54,242 | 44.8 | 16,925 | 14.0 |
| 1983 | 89,157 | 48,698 | 54.6 | 26,492 | 29.7 | 13,967 | 15.7 |
| 1984 | 88,239 | 43,814 | 49.6 | 29,083 | 33.0 | 15,342 | 17.4 |
| 1985 | 84,302 | 38,514 | 45.7 | 29,028 | 34.4 | 16,760 | 19.9 |

[1] The "Refugees and designated classes" category did not exist at that time.
**Source:** Employment and Immigration Canada.

Despite the reduced immigration of "selected workers", 44 percent of all 1984 immigrants were employable, since a large number, primarily from the "family" and "refugee" classes, are destined for the labour force. Relative to 1981, however, the numbers were down in every occupational category (except entrepreneurs), in some cases by as much as 50% (Table 23). The increase in the entrepreneur class is likely to continue in the future, since the 1984 *Annual Report to Parliament on Future Immigration Levels*[10] stresses the economic benefits of recruiting entrepreneurs, because entrepreneurs create jobs. Furthermore, the new category "investors" has been added alongside "selected workers" and "entrepreneurs" in the business immigration programme, in order to attract persons willing to make at least a three-year capital investment.

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[10] November, 1984, Employment and Immigration Canada.

## Table 22. Immigrant Population by Country of Birth, 1968-1985

| | 1968 | 1969 | 1970 | 1971 | 1972 | 1973 | 1974 | 1975 | 1976 | 1977 | 1978 | 1979 | 1980 | 1981 | 1982 | 1983 | 1984 | 1985 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Europe | 118,791 | 87,842 | 75,006 | 52,733 | 51,175 | 70,080 | 84,780 | 68,733 | 49,470 | 40,967 | 30,003 | 32,633 | 40,210 | 44,784 | 44,356 | 23,664 | 20,581 | 18,530 |
| Great Britain | 33,814 | 28,790 | 23,688 | 14,230 | 16,637 | 23,533 | 33,088 | 29,454 | 19,257 | 16,634 | 10,698 | 11,806 | 16,445 | 18,912 | 14,525 | 4,945 | 4,657 | 3,998 |
| Portugal | 8,720 | 7,917 | 8,594 | 9,776 | 9,280 | 14,417 | 17,268 | 9,158 | 6,194 | 4,238 | 3,420 | 3,742 | 4,222 | 3,292 | 2,308 | 1,373 | 869 | 917 |
| France | 5,370 | 3,612 | 2,958 | 2,059 | 1,880 | 2,411 | 2,811 | 2,831 | 2,415 | 2,090 | 1,322 | 1,547 | 1,461 | 1,681 | 1,821 | 1,237 | 970 | 994 |
| Greece | 7,952 | 7,106 | 6,440 | 4,822 | 4,008 | 5,800 | 5,654 | 3,954 | 2,429 | 1,874 | 1,324 | 1,187 | 1,044 | 924 | 884 | 617 | 578 | 579 |
| Italy | 20,880 | 10,685 | 8,659 | 5,937 | 4,847 | 6,176 | 5,818 | 4,919 | 4,008 | 3,088 | 2,647 | 2,134 | 1,873 | 2,057 | 1,496 | 879 | 892 | 733 |
| Poland | 1,854 | 1,563 | 1,403 | 1,527 | 1,664 | 1,629 | 1,373 | 1,191 | 1,366 | 1,293 | 1,153 | 1,263 | 1,395 | 4,093 | 9,259 | 5,374 | 4,640 | 3,642 |
| Others | 40,201 | 28,163 | 23,264 | 14,382 | 12,859 | 16,114 | 18,768 | 17,226 | 13,801 | 11,750 | 9,439 | 10,954 | 13,770 | 13,825 | 14,063 | 9,239 | 7,975 | 7,667 |
| Africa | 7,002 | 5,953 | 4,017 | 3,463 | 8,504 | 9,977 | 12,792 | 11,715 | 8,617 | 6,595 | 4,561 | 4,412 | 5,383 | 5,901 | 5,196 | 3,913 | 3,851 | 3,912 |
| Asia | 23,775 | 24,451 | 23,682 | 24,230 | 25,938 | 46,777 | 55,290 | 52,024 | 46,482 | 32,904 | 25,332 | 51,740 | 73,026 | 50,759 | 43,863 | 38,183 | 42,730 | 39,438 |
| Philippines | 2,762 | 3,138 | 3,305 | 4,213 | 4,113 | 6,886 | 9,897 | 7,688 | 6,109 | 6,101 | 4,368 | 3,927 | 6,147 | 5,978 | 5,295 | 4,597 | 3,858 | 3,183 |
| India | 4,675 | 6,736 | 7,089 | 6,301 | 6,746 | 11,672 | 16,016 | 13,401 | 8,562 | 6,772 | 6,077 | 5,486 | 9,531 | 9,415 | 8,858 | 7,810 | 6,082 | 4,517 |
| Hong Kong (C.C.B.) | 3,353 | 3,353 | 2,250 | 2,581 | 3,396 | 9,155 | 7,673 | 6,438 | 6,442 | 3,903 | 2,825 | 3,548 | 3,874 | 4,039 | 4,452 | 4,238 | 5,013 | 5,121 |
| China | 5,401 | 5,610 | 3,397 | 3,694 | 3,813 | 6,842 | 6,581 | 6,235 | 6,003 | 4,037 | 3,181 | 5,821 | 8,965 | 9,798 | 6,295 | 5,321 | 5,769 | 5,166 |
| Others | 7,584 | 5,614 | 7,641 | 7,441 | 7,870 | 12,222 | 15,123 | 18,262 | 19,366 | 12,091 | 8,881 | 32,958 | 44,509 | 21,529 | 18,963 | 16,217 | 22,008 | 21,451 |
| North and Central America | 18,482 | 20,927 | 22,670 | 22,508 | 21,137 | 23,861 | 25,147 | 19,268 | 16,494 | 12,755 | 9,713 | 9,128 | 9,442 | 10,183 | 10,030 | 10,200 | 10,223 | 10,898 |
| USA | 17,076 | 19,258 | 20,859 | 20,723 | 19,176 | 21,391 | 22,454 | 16,729 | 14,278 | 10,723 | 8,254 | 7,821 | 8,098 | 8,695 | 7,841 | 6,136 | 5,727 | 5,614 |
| West Indies | 8,904 | 13,803 | 13,286 | 11,202 | 8,696 | 19,809 | 24,441 | 18,790 | 15,066 | 11,822 | 8,330 | 6,535 | 7,515 | 8,797 | 8,717 | 7,258 | 5,696 | 6,240 |
| Australasia | 4,145 | 3,523 | 3,462 | 2,182 | 1,646 | 1,893 | 1,928 | 1,574 | 1,367 | 1,147 | 944 | 1,068 | 1,215 | 1,020 | 758 | 394 | 430 | 399 |
| South America | 2,368 | 4,158 | 4,506 | 4,598 | 4,036 | 10,353 | 12,204 | 13,102 | 10,496 | 7,774 | 6,682 | 5,810 | 5,381 | 6,114 | 6,892 | 4,825 | 4,046 | 4,273 |
| Oceania | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1,882 | 2,675 | 1,437 | 950 | 724 | 736 | 944 | 1,024 | 1,183 | 720 | 599 | 612 |
| Others | 507 | 874 | 1,084 | 984 | 874 | 1,450 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 24 | 34 | 1 | 36 | 152 | – | 83 | – |
| Total | 183,974 | 161,531 | 147,713 | 121,900 | 122,006 | 184,200 | 218,465 | 187,881 | 149,429 | 114,914 | 86,313 | 112,096 | 143,117 | 128,618[1] | 121,147 | 89,157[1] | 88,239 | 84,302 |

[1] The total differs from the sum of the column because of immigrants whose country of birth is unknown.

**Source:** Employment and Immigration Canada, *Immigration Statistics*, ISSN 0576-2286.

From a numerical standpoint, the growth of the Canadian population has always been heavily dependent upon international migration. One out of every six people enumerated in the 1981 Census was born outside Canada[11], and two out of three among this group were born in Europe. The volume of immigrants for 1985 conformed to the anticipated level of 85,000 (the preliminary figure is 84,273). An increase is anticipated in the next two years, however, as the maximum target number has been set at 115,000 for 1986, and subsequently to 125,000 for 1987.

The most recent population projections by Statistics Canada[12] show that with an annual emigration level of 50,000 persons and a total fertility rate stabilizing at the level of 1.7 births per woman, Canada will need 175,000 immigrants each year to stabilize its population at 25,000,000. Coupled with concerns over low natural increase, the demographic effects of the current immigration policy have generated sufficient interest such that ''…the federal government will be giving serious early consideration to the relationship between immigration levels and Canada's demographic future''[13].

## Interprovincial Migration

Migratory movements between provinces are influenced, in both the short and long run, by economic factors. Sudden demand for labour in a particular region will trigger an influx of people, occasionally followed by varying levels of return migration. A case in point is the population exchanges that have occurred between Eastern and Western Canada, especially since the early 1970's. The traditional east-to-west trickle of population, which has long contributed to rapid growth in British Columbia and Alberta, increased substantially for ten years as a result of increased exploration and development in the oil fields, particularly in Alberta. Between 1972 and 1983, British Columbia and Alberta gained half a million people through population exchanges with the rest of the country. As the world oil situation deteriorated, however, the migration balance in Alberta turned negative. In 1982-83, the absolute value of the change was 50,000 persons (Table 24). The trend intensified in 1983-84, as the province posted a net loss through migration of 32,000. Long a loser in population exchanges, Ontario was the major beneficiary of this return flow, having recorded gains of some 23,600 in 1982-83 and 36,400 in 1983-84.

The most recent figures indicate that Ontario has maintained its strong attraction on interprovincial migrants, having made net gains in excess of 30,000 in each of the last two years. Furthermore, Alberta has almost reversed its net outflow situation, having recorded a loss of only 1,480 persons in 1985-86. This turnaround in migration has contributed substantially to the strong overall growth of Alberta in the current year.

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[11] 3,867,160 persons.
[12] Statistics Canada, *Population Projections for Canada, Provinces and Territories: 1984-2006.* May, 1985, Catalogue 91-520.
[13] *Annual Report to Parliament on Future Immigration Levels.* See footnote 10.

**Table 23. Distribution of Immigrant Population Destined for the Labour Force by Occupation, Canada, 1981, 1983, 1984 and 1985**

| Rank in 1981 | Occupational group | 1981 | | 1983 | | 1984 | | 1985 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Number | Per-centage | Number | Per-centage | Number | Per-centage | Number | Per-centage |
| 1 | Fabricating, assembling and repairing | 6,296 | 11.1 | 3,641 | 9.9 | 4,306 | 11.2 | 4,034 | 10.5 |
| 2 | Clerical | 7,044 | 12.4 | 3,540 | 9.5 | 3,150 | 8.2 | 3,087 | 8.0 |
| 3 | Natural sciences, engineering and mathematics | 6,932 | 12.2 | 2,749 | 7.4 | 2,059 | 5.3 | 2,097 | 5.5 |
| 4 | Services | 4,250 | 7.5 | 3,816 | 10.3 | 5,235 | 13.6 | 5,279 | 13.7 |
| 5 | Managerial, administrative | 3,601 | 6.3 | 1,934 | 5.2 | 1,529 | 4.0 | 1,497 | 3.9 |
| 6 | Construction | 2,194 | 3.9 | 1,555 | 4.2 | 1,543 | 4.0 | 1,660 | 4.3 |
| 7 | Machining | 2,529 | 4.4 | 982 | 2.6 | 972 | 2.5 | 969 | 2.5 |
| 8 | Medicine and health | 2,903 | 5.1 | 1,609 | 4.3 | 1,436 | 3.7 | 1,524 | 4.0 |
| 9 | Sales | 2,151 | 3.8 | 1,499 | 4.0 | 1,536 | 4.0 | 1,475 | 3.8 |
| 10 | Farming, horticulture and animal husbandry | 2,931 | 5.1 | 1,419 | 3.8 | 1,170 | 3.0 | 1,050 | 2.7 |
| 11 | Teaching | 1,677 | 2.9 | 1,212 | 3.3 | 1,187 | 3.1 | 1,263 | 3.3 |
| 12 | Processing | 1,170 | 2.1 | 655 | 1.8 | 175 | 0.5 | 213 | 0.6 |
| 13 | Transport equipment operating | 691 | 1.2 | 618 | 1.7 | 568 | 1.5 | 591 | 1.5 |
| 14 | Artistic, literary, performing arts | 1,131 | 2.0 | 673 | 1.8 | 645 | 1.7 | 707 | 1.8 |
| 15 | Social sciences | 555 | 1.0 | 395 | 1.1 | 300 | 0.8 | 357 | 0.9 |
| 16 | Material handling | 361 | 0.6 | 244 | 0.7 | 330 | 0.9 | 344 | 0.9 |
| 17 | Other crafts and equipment operating | 313 | 0.5 | 191 | 0.5 | 180 | 0.5 | 183 | 0.5 |
| 18 | Religion | 469 | 0.8 | 493 | 1.3 | 441 | 1.1 | 396 | 1.0 |
| 19 | Fishing, hunting, trapping | 135 | 0.2 | 50 | 0.1 | 65 | 0.2 | 112 | 0.3 |
| 20 | Entrepreneurs | 293 | 0.5 | 569 | 1.5 | 1,032 | 2.7 | 1,504 | 3.9 |
| 21 | Sports and recreation | 111 | 0.2 | 86 | 0.2 | 77 | 0.2 | 87 | 0.2 |
| 22 | Mining and quarrying including gas and oil | 67 | 0.1 | 46 | 0.1 | 56 | 0.1 | 44 | 0.1 |
| 23 | Forestry and logging | 19 | – | 22 | 0.1 | 16 | – | 20 | 0.1 |
| | Not stated and other | 9,146 | 16.0 | 9,111 | 24.6 | 10,492 | 27.2 | 9,960 | 25.9 |
| | **Total Destined for Labour Force** | **56,969** | **100.0** | **37,109** | **100.0** | **38,500** | **100.0** | **38,453** | **100.0** |

## Table 24. Net Interprovincial Migration for Provinces and Territories, 1972-73 to 1985-86

| Year | New-found-land | Prince Edward Island | Nova Scotia | New Bruns-wick | Quebec | Ontario | Manitoba | Saskatchewan | Alberta | British Columbia | Yukon and Northwest Territories |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1972-73 | -537 | 923 | 4,276 | 2,077 | -20,072 | 960 | -5,770 | -16,164 | 5,564 | 27,333 | 1,410 |
| 1973-74 | -3,316 | 502 | 1,274 | 1,448 | -15,135 | -2,886 | -1,596 | -11,604 | 2,235 | 30,496 | -1,418 |
| 1974-75 | 495 | 1,390 | 2,233 | 6,103 | -9,299 | -29,535 | -6,912 | 378 | 22,576 | 11,831 | 740 |
| 1975-76 | 591 | 649 | 3,895 | 6,561 | -12,643 | -21,179 | -4,238 | 5,845 | 24,621 | -4,419 | 317 |
| 1976-77 | -4,149 | 154 | -799 | -82 | -26,366 | -6,402 | -3,531 | 3,182 | 34,710 | 5,016 | -1,733 |
| 1977-78 | -4,311 | 700 | -416 | -1,348 | -46,429 | 8,510 | -4,674 | -1,719 | 32,543 | 17,576 | -432 |
| 1978-79 | -3,374 | -74 | -357 | -1,171 | -30,884 | -4,325 | -10,746 | -2,878 | 33,426 | 22,005 | -1,622 |
| 1979-80 | -3,597 | -358 | -2,732 | -2,761 | -29,976 | -22,362 | -13,864 | -4,493 | 41,435 | 40,164 | -1,456 |
| 1980-81 | -3,552 | -1,251 | -2,836 | -4,989 | -22,841 | -33,247 | -9,403 | -3,808 | 44,250 | 37,864 | -187 |
| 1981-82 | -5,693 | -856 | -1,936 | -2,842 | -25,790 | -5,665 | -2,625 | -323 | 36,562 | 8,705 | 463 |
| 1982-83 | 1,829 | 636 | 3,791 | 3,554 | -24,678 | 23,585 | 2,544 | 3,580 | -11,650 | -1,489 | -1,702 |
| 1983-84 | -2,026 | 797 | 3,804 | 1,792 | -17,417 | 36,400 | 339 | 2,133 | -31,986 | 6,636 | -472 |
| 1984-85 | -3,543 | 623 | 2,409 | 34 | -9,042 | 37,881 | 1,250 | -346 | -27,361 | -2,319 | 414 |
| 1985-86 | -4,864 | -238 | -1,544 | -3,021 | -3,415 | 33,856 | 2,193 | -7,828 | -1,480 | -7,657 | -1,616 |
| Total | -36,047 | 3,597 | 11,062 | 5,355 | -293,987 | 15,591 | -57,033 | -34,035 | 205,445 | 191,742 | -7,294 |

British Columbia, after having reached a low in 1982-83 with a negative balance of 1,500 people, experienced a substantial turnaround in 1983-84, with a net gain of 6,600 persons. The figures for the two most recent years, however, indicate a return to net losses, with the exchange deficit reaching 7,657 persons in 1985-86. Quite the opposite situation has occurred in Quebec, however, as exchange deficits with other provinces have been progressively reduced from more than 26,000 in 1981-82, to slightly more than 3,400 in 1985-86. Moreover, this figure is substantially lower than that for any other year represented in Table 24. Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia all followed Newfoundland into the red in population exchanges in 1985-86. The latter had shown a net gain in 1982-83 for the first time since the 1975-76 period, whereas the remaining Atlantic provinces had shown net gains in each year from 1982-83 to 1984-85.

It is important to point out that interprovincial movements, which had averaged close to 375,000 persons annually for the previous 10 years, fell to 279,000 in 1983-1984, representing a 25 percent reduction (Table 25). The overall mobility rate, as a consequence, dropped from 16 to 11 per 1,000. Undoubtedly, this is a classic example of the effects of an economic recession. The 1984-85 and 1985-86 figures, however, indicate a higher level of mobility in the population (382,600 in 1984-85 and 375,800 in 1985-86), and show a return to the levels observed in the 1970's.

Table 25. Interprovincial Migration of Children and Adults, In- and Out-migration, 1972-73 to 1985-86

| Censal Year | | New-found-land | Prince Edward Island | Nova Scotia | New Bruns-wick | Quebec | Ontario | Manitoba | Saskat-chewan | Alberta | British Columbia | Yukon and Northwest Territories | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1972-73 | In | 11,452 | 4,332 | 24,280 | 20,370 | 35,594 | 96,003 | 28,862 | 20,843 | 62,749 | 77,851 | 7,263 | 389,599 |
| | Out | 11,989 | 3,409 | 20,004 | 18,293 | 55,666 | 95,043 | 34,633 | 37,007 | 57,185 | 50,518 | 5,852 | 389,599 |
| 1973-74 | In | 12,915 | 4,756 | 26,281 | 21,459 | 40,773 | 104,720 | 32,981 | 27,097 | 72,082 | 88,145 | 5,203 | 436,412 |
| | Out | 16,231 | 4,254 | 25,007 | 20,011 | 55,909 | 107,605 | 34,577 | 38,701 | 69,847 | 57,649 | 6,621 | 436,412 |
| 1974-75 | In | 12,328 | 5,428 | 26,882 | 24,103 | 37,834 | 84,965 | 30,188 | 30,270 | 79,884 | 77,711 | 7,296 | 416,890 |
| | Out | 11,833 | 4,037 | 24,649 | 18,000 | 47,133 | 114,499 | 37,099 | 29,893 | 57,309 | 65,880 | 6,557 | 416,890 |
| 1975-76 | In | 12,112 | 4,392 | 24,847 | 23,369 | 32,915 | 81,141 | 26,565 | 28,459 | 76,210 | 58,276 | 6,244 | 374,528 |
| | Out | 11,520 | 3,742 | 20,952 | 16,808 | 45,557 | 102,321 | 30,803 | 22,614 | 51,588 | 62,695 | 5,927 | 374,528 |
| 1976-77 | In | 8,304 | 3,837 | 20,849 | 15,965 | 28,867 | 86,187 | 22,864 | 24,058 | 81,332 | 58,199 | 6,927 | 357,389 |
| | Out | 12,453 | 3,683 | 21,648 | 16,047 | 55,233 | 92,589 | 26,395 | 20,876 | 46,622 | 53,183 | 8,660 | 357,389 |
| 1977-78 | In | 8,181 | 3,933 | 20,055 | 15,135 | 23,945 | 97,825 | 20,761 | 20,875 | 83,270 | 63,371 | 7,070 | 364,421 |
| | Out | 12,492 | 3,233 | 20,471 | 16,483 | 70,374 | 89,315 | 25,435 | 22,594 | 50,727 | 45,795 | 7,502 | 364,421 |
| 1978-79 | In | 8,462 | 3,584 | 19,905 | 14,929 | 25,524 | 87,125 | 18,774 | 20,528 | 86,057 | 67,506 | 6,411 | 358,805 |
| | Out | 11,836 | 3,658 | 20,262 | 16,100 | 56,408 | 91,450 | 29,520 | 23,406 | 52,631 | 45,501 | 8,033 | 358,805 |
| 1979-80 | In | 9,066 | 3,185 | 17,682 | 13,855 | 22,018 | 79,556 | 18,690 | 20,293 | 100,710 | 80,656 | 5,677 | 371,388 |
| | Out | 12,663 | 3,543 | 20,414 | 16,616 | 51,994 | 101,918 | 32,554 | 24,786 | 59,275 | 40,492 | 7,133 | 371,388 |
| 1980-81 | In | 9,238 | 3,116 | 18,737 | 13,356 | 22,905 | 77,090 | 20,468 | 21,924 | 109,383 | 80,515 | 6,200 | 382,932 |
| | Out | 12,790 | 4,367 | 21,573 | 18,345 | 45,746 | 110,337 | 29,871 | 25,732 | 65,133 | 42,651 | 6,387 | 382,932 |
| 1981-82 | In | 8,763 | 3,375 | 18,899 | 13,857 | 21,349 | 83,619 | 21,601 | 21,808 | 100,046 | 57,983 | 6,619 | 357,919 |
| | Out | 14,456 | 4,231 | 20,835 | 16,699 | 47,139 | 89,284 | 24,226 | 22,131 | 63,484 | 49,278 | 6,156 | 357,919 |
| 1982-83 | In | 10,193 | 3,403 | 19,166 | 15,016 | 20,881 | 86,885 | 20,454 | 21,081 | 59,381 | 44,221 | 4,805 | 305,486 |
| | Out | 8,364 | 2,767 | 15,375 | 11,462 | 45,559 | 63,300 | 17,910 | 17,501 | 71,031 | 45,710 | 6,507 | 305,486 |
| 1983-84 | In | 6,753 | 3,219 | 18,024 | 12,450 | 23,031 | 89,002 | 17,731 | 18,901 | 41,126 | 44,088 | 5,047 | 279,372 |
| | Out | 8,779 | 2,422 | 14,220 | 10,658 | 40,448 | 52,602 | 17,392 | 16,768 | 73,112 | 37,452 | 5,519 | 279,372 |
| 1984-85 | In | 8,151 | 3,940 | 22,718 | 16,427 | 32,900 | 114,102 | 24,222 | 23,731 | 67,915 | 62,221 | 6,264 | 382,591 |
| | Out | 11,694 | 3,317 | 20,309 | 16,393 | 41,942 | 76,221 | 22,972 | 24,077 | 95,276 | 64,540 | 5,850 | 382,591 |
| 1985-86 | In | 8,214 | 3,539 | 20,697 | 15,506 | 33,244 | 109,561 | 22,278 | 21,349 | 75,575 | 60,267 | 5,614 | 375,844 |
| | Out | 13,078 | 3,777 | 22,241 | 18,527 | 36,659 | 75,705 | 24,471 | 29,177 | 77,055 | 67,924 | 7,230 | 375,844 |

Source: Statistics Canada, Cat. 91-208; Demography Division, unpublished data — available upon request.

Appendix A

**Table A1. Total Growth Rate, 1901-02 to 1985-86 and Rate of
Natural Increase, 1928-29 to 1985-86, Canada**

| Census Year | Total Growth Rate | Rate of Natural Increase | Census Year | Total Growth Rate | Rate of Natural Increase |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1901-02 | 2.26 | – | 44 | 1.28 | 1.33 |
| 03 | 2.82 | – | 45 | 1.05 | 1.27 |
| 04 | 3.07 | – | 46 | 1.82 | 1.51 |
| 05 | 2.96 | – | 47 | 2.11 | 1.94 |
| 06 | 1.57 | – | 48 | 2.17 | 1.84 |
| 07 | 5.02 | – | 49 | 2.18 | 1.80 |
| 08 | 3.28 | – | 50 | 1.97 | 1.81 |
| 09 | 2.61 | – | 51 | 2.17 | 1.84 |
| 10 | 2.73 | – | 1951-52 | 3.21 | 1.89 |
| 11 | 3.09 | – | 53 | 2.67 | 1.94 |
| 1911-12 | 2.49 | – | 54 | 2.98 | 2.03 |
| 13 | 3.24 | – | 55 | 2.69 | 2.06 |
| 14 | 3.18 | – | 56 | 2.44 | 1.99 |
| 15 | 1.29 | – | 57 | 3.29 | 2.05 |
| 16 | 0.25 | – | 58 | 2.83 | 2.01 |
| 17 | 0.73 | – | 59 | 2.36 | 1.96 |
| 18 | 1.09 | – | 60 | 2.21 | 1.94 |
| 19 | 1.98 | – | 61 | 2.06 | 1.90 |
| 20 | 2.91 | – | 1961-62 | 1.89 | 1.80 |
| 21 | 2.68 | – | 63 | 1.87 | 1.75 |
| 1921-22 | 1.48 | – | 64 | 1.90 | 1.66 |
| 23 | 1.02 | – | 65 | 1.83 | 1.52 |
| 24 | 1.47 | – | 66 | 1.89 | 1.29 |
| 25 | 1.64 | – | 67 | 1.81 | 1.16 |
| 26 | 1.68 | – | 68 | 1.59 | 1.05 |
| 27 | 1.95 | – | 69 | 1.45 | 1.03 |
| 28 | 2.03 | – | 70 | 1.41 | 1.02 |
| 29 | 1.97 | 1.21 | 71 | 1.27 | 1.02 |
| 30 | 1.78 | 1.32 | 1971-72 | 1.07 | 0.90 |
| 31 | 1.66 | 1.31 | 73 | 1.10 | 0.83 |
| 1931-32 | 1.28 | 1.29 | 74 | 1.45 | 0.82 |
| 33 | 1.17 | 1.23 | 75 | 1.48 | 0.83 |
| 34 | 1.02 | 1.12 | 76 | 1.29 | 0.84 |
| 35 | 0.97 | 1.09 | 77 | 1.21 | 0.84 |
| 36 | 0.97 | 1.08 | 78 | 1.04 | 0.82 |
| 37 | 0.87 | 0.98 | 79 | 0.97 | 0.83 |
| 38 | 0.97 | 1.03 | 80 | 1.24 | 0.84 |
| 39 | 1.03 | 1.09 | 81 | 1.24 | 0.83 |
| 40 | 1.01 | 1.11 | 1981-82 | 1.18 | 0.82 |
| 41 | 1.11 | 1.21 | 83 | 1.02 | 0.81 |
| 1941-42 | 1.28 | 1.27 | 84 | 0.96 | 0.80 |
| 43 | 1.21 | 1.36 | 85 | 0.93 | 0.80 |
|  |  |  | 1985-86 | 0.91 | 0.76 |

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**Table A2. Immigration Rate, 1901-1984 and Total Fertility Rate[1]
(per 1,000), 1911, 1922-1985, Canada**

| Year | Immi-gration Rate | Total Fertility Rate | Year | Immi-gration Rate | Total Fertility Rate | Year | Immi-gration Rate | Total Fertility Rate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1901 | 10.4 | – | 1930 | 10.3 | 3,282 | 1959 | 6.1 | 3,935 |
| 1902 | 16.2 | – | 1931 | 2.7 | 3,200 | 1960 | 5.8 | 3,895 |
| 1903 | 24.5 | – | 1932 | 2.0 | 3,084 | 1961 | 3.9 | 3,840 |
| 1904 | 22.5 | – | 1933 | 1.4 | 2,864 | 1962 | 4.0 | 3,756 |
| 1905 | 23.6 | – | 1934 | 1.2 | 2,803 | 1963 | 4.9 | 3,669 |
| 1906 | 34.7 | – | 1935 | 1.0 | 2,755 | 1964 | 5.8 | 3,502 |
| 1907 | 42.5 | – | 1936 | 1.1 | 2,696 | 1965 | 7.5 | 3,145 |
| 1908 | 21.6 | – | 1937 | 1.4 | 2,646 | 1966 | 9.7 | 2,812 |
| 1909 | 25.5 | – | 1938 | 1.5 | 2,701 | 1967 | 10.9 | 2,597 |
| 1910 | 41.0 | – | 1939 | 1.5 | 2,654 | 1968 | 8.9 | 2,453 |
| 1911 | 46.0 | 4,700 | 1940 | 1.0 | 2,766 | 1969 | 7.7 | 2,405 |
| 1912 | 50.9 | – | 1941 | 0.8 | 2,832 | 1970 | 6.9 | 2,331 |
| 1913 | 52.5 | – | 1942 | 0.7 | 2,964 | 1971 | 5.7 | 2,187 |
| 1914 | 19.1 | – | 1943 | 0.7 | 3,041 | 1972 | 5.6 | 2,024 |
| 1915 | 4.6 | – | 1944 | 1.1 | 3,010 | 1973 | 8.4 | 1,931 |
| 1916 | 7.0 | – | 1945 | 1.9 | 3,018 | 1974 | 9.8 | 1,875 |
| 1917 | 9.0 | – | 1946 | 5.8 | 3,374 | 1975 | 8.3 | 1,852 |
| 1918 | 5.1 | – | 1947 | 5.1 | 3,595 | 1976 | 6.5 | 1,825 |
| 1919 | 13.0 | – | 1948 | 9.8 | 3,441 | 1977 | 4.9 | 1,806 |
| 1920 | 16.2 | – | 1949 | 7.1 | 3,456 | 1978 | 3.7 | 1,757 |
| 1921 | 10.4 | – | 1950 | 5.4 | 3,455 | 1979 | 4.7 | 1,764 |
| 1922 | 7.2 | 3,402 | 1951 | 13.9 | 3,503 | 1980 | 6.0 | 1,746 |
| 1923 | 14.8 | 3,234 | 1952 | 11.4 | 3,641 | 1981 | 5.3 | 1,704 |
| 1924 | 13.6 | 3,221 | 1953 | 11.4 | 3,721 | 1982 | 4.9 | 1,694 |
| 1925 | 9.1 | 3,132 | 1954 | 10.1 | 3,828 | 1983 | 3.6 | 1,680 |
| 1926 | 14.4 | 3,357 | 1955 | 7.0 | 3,831 | 1984 | 3.5 | 1,686 |
| 1927 | 16.5 | 3,319 | 1956 | 10.3 | 3,858 | 1985 | – | 1,669 |
| 1928 | 17.0 | 3,294 | 1957 | 17.0 | 3,925 | | | |
| 1929 | 16.5 | 3,217 | 1958 | 7.3 | 3,880 | | | |

[1] Canada excluding Newfoundland for TFR.

**Sources:** Employment and Immigration Canada (1985). *Immigration 1983*. Ottawa:
Supply and Services Canada, Table 2.
Statistics Canada, Catalogue 91-210, Table 1.
Statistics Canada, Catalogue 84-204.
Henripin, J. (1968). *1961 Census Monograph,* Catalogue 91-541: *Trends and Factors of Fertility in Canada,* Table 2.3.
Employment and Immigration Canada (1986). *Immigration Statistics, 1984.* Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada, Table G2.

Table A3. Demographic Accounts of the Provinces and
Territories, 1951-1986

| Year | Population[1] | Total Growth[2] | Births[2] | Deaths[2] | Natural Increase | Net Migration[2,3] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Newfoundland | | | |
| | | | (in thousands) | | | |
| 1951 | 361.4[4] | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 1971 | 522.1[4] | 8.0[5] | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 1972 | 530.0[6] | 7.9 | 12.8 | 3.2 | 9.6 | -1.7 |
| 1973 | 537.2[6] | 7.2 | 13.0 | 3.4 | 9.6 | -2.4 |
| 1974 | 541.5[6] | 4.3 | 12.3 | 3.4 | 8.9 | -4.6 |
| 1975 | 549.1[6] | 7.6 | 11.5 | 3.2 | 8.3 | -0.7 |
| 1976 | 557.7[4] | 8.6 | 10.9 | 3.3 | 7.6 | 1.0 |
| 1977 | 559.8[6] | 2.1 | 11.1 | 3.2 | 7.9 | -5.8 |
| 1978 | 561.5[6] | 1.7 | 10.8 | 3.1 | 7.7 | -6.0 |
| 1979 | 563.5[6] | 2.0 | 10.4 | 3.2 | 7.2 | -5.2 |
| 1980 | 565.6[6] | 2.1 | 10.3 | 3.3 | 7.0 | -4.9 |
| 1981 | 567.7[4] | 2.1 | 10.3 | 3.2 | 7.1 | -5.0 |
| 1982 | 568.5[7] | 0.8 | 9.7 | 3.3 | 6.4 | -5.6 |
| 1983 | 576.0[7] | 7.5 | 9.2 | 3.5 | 5.7 | 1.8 |
| 1984 | 579.3[7] | 3.3 | 8.7 | 3.5 | 5.2 | -1.9 |
| 1985 | 580.7[7] | 1.4 | 8.5 | 3.4 | 5.1 | -3.7 |
| 1986 | 580.2[7] | -0.5 | 7.8 | 3.5 | 4.3 | -4.8 |
| | | | Prince Edward Island | | | |
| 1951 | 98.4[4] | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 1971 | 111.6[4] | 0.7[5] | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 1972 | 112.6[6] | 1.0 | 2.1 | 1.0 | 1.1 | -0.1 |
| 1973 | 114.0[6] | 1.4 | 1.9 | 1.0 | 0.9 | 0.5 |
| 1974 | 115.2[6] | 1.2 | 1.9 | 1.1 | 0.8 | 0.4 |
| 1975 | 117.1[6] | 1.9 | 1.9 | 1.1 | 0.8 | 1.1 |
| 1976 | 118.2[4] | 1.1 | 1.9 | 1.1 | 0.8 | 0.3 |
| 1977 | 119.3[6] | 1.1 | 2.0 | 1.1 | 0.9 | 0.2 |
| 1978 | 121.0[6] | 1.7 | 1.9 | 1.0 | 0.9 | 0.8 |
| 1979 | 122.0[6] | 1.0 | 2.0 | 1.0 | 1.1 | -0.1 |
| 1980 | 122.8[6] | 0.8 | 1.9 | 1.0 | 0.9 | -0.1 |
| 1981 | 122.5[4] | 0.3 | 1.9 | 1.0 | 0.9 | -1.2 |
| 1982 | 122.7[7] | 0.2 | 1.9 | 1.0 | 0.9 | -0.7 |
| 1983 | 124.3[7] | 1.6 | 1.9 | 1.0 | 0.9 | 0.7 |
| 1984 | 125.9[7] | 1.6 | 1.9 | 1.1 | 0.8 | 0.8 |
| 1985 | 127.4[7] | 1.5 | 2.0 | 1.1 | 0.9 | 0.6 |
| 1986 | 128.1[7] | 0.7 | 2.0 | 1.1 | 0.9 | 0.2 |

See footnote(s) at end of table.

**Table A3. Demographic Accounts of the Provinces and Territories, 1951-1986 – Continued**

| Year | Population[1] | Total Growth[2] | Births[2] | Deaths[2] | Natural Increase | Net Migration[2,3] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Nova Scotia | | | |
| | | | (in thousands) | | | |
| 1951 | 642.6[4] | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 1971 | 789.0[4] | 7.3[5] | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 1972 | 794.6[6] | 5.6 | 14.0 | 6.8 | 7.2 | -1.6 |
| 1973 | 804.3[6] | 9.7 | 13.4 | 6.9 | 6.5 | 3.2 |
| 1974 | 811.5[6] | 7.2 | 12.9 | 7.0 | 5.9 | 1.3 |
| 1975 | 819.5[6] | 8.0 | 13.1 | 6.8 | 6.3 | 1.7 |
| 1976 | 828.6[4] | 9.1 | 13.1 | 6.9 | 6.2 | 2.9 |
| 1977 | 833.4[6] | 4.8 | 12.7 | 7.1 | 5.6 | -0.8 |
| 1978 | 837.5[6] | 4.1 | 12.3 | 6.8 | 5.5 | -1.4 |
| 1979 | 841.8[6] | 4.3 | 12.6 | 6.9 | 5.7 | -1.4 |
| 1980 | 845.1[6] | 3.3 | 12.5 | 6.9 | 5.6 | -2.3 |
| 1981 | 847.4[4] | 2.3 | 12.2 | 7.0 | 5.2 | -2.9 |
| 1982 | 851.7[7] | 4.3 | 12.1 | 6.9 | 5.2 | -0.9 |
| 1983 | 861.5[7] | 9.8 | 12.4 | 7.1 | 5.3 | 4.5 |
| 1984 | 871.1[7] | 9.6 | 12.4 | 7.1 | 5.3 | 4.3 |
| 1985 | 879.8[7] | 8.7 | 12.4 | 6.8 | 5.6 | 3.1 |
| 1986 | 883.8[7] | 4.0 | 12.3 | 7.4 | 4.9 | -0.9 |
| | | | New Brunswick | | | |
| 1951 | 515.7[4] | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 1971 | 634.6[4] | 6.0[5] | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 1972 | 640.1[6] | 5.5 | 12.0 | 5.0 | 7.0 | -1.5 |
| 1973 | 647.1[6] | 7.0 | 11.6 | 5.0 | 6.6 | 0.4 |
| 1974 | 653.6[6] | 6.5 | 11.3 | 5.1 | 6.2 | 0.3 |
| 1975 | 665.2[6] | 11.6 | 11.7 | 5.2 | 6.5 | 5.1 |
| 1976 | 677.2[4] | 12.0 | 11.8 | 5.2 | 6.6 | 5.4 |
| 1977 | 684.1[6] | 16.9 | 11.8 | 5.1 | 6.7 | 0.2 |
| 1978 | 688.1[6] | 4.0 | 11.1 | 5.2 | 5.9 | -1.9 |
| 1979 | 691.9[6] | 3.8 | 10.8 | 5.1 | 5.7 | -1.9 |
| 1980 | 695.4[6] | 3.5 | 10.8 | 5.3 | 5.5 | -2.0 |
| 1981 | 696.4[4] | 1.0 | 10.6 | 5.2 | 5.4 | -4.4 |
| 1982 | 698.9[7] | 2.5 | 10.4 | 5.1 | 5.3 | -2.8 |
| 1983 | 707.7[7] | 8.8 | 10.6 | 5.3 | 5.3 | 3.5 |
| 1984 | 714.6[7] | 6.9 | 10.4 | 5.2 | 5.2 | 1.7 |
| 1985 | 719.6[7] | 5.0 | 10.5 | 5.3 | 5.2 | -0.2 |
| 1986 | 721.1[7] | 1.5 | 10.1 | 5.3 | 4.8 | -3.3 |

See footnote(s) at end of table.

**Table A3. Demographic Accounts of the Provinces and Territories, 1951-1986 – Continued**

| Year | Population[1] | Total Growth[2] | Births[2] | Deaths[2] | Natural Increase | Net Migration[2,3] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Quebec | | | |
| | | | (in thousands) | | | |
| 1951 | 4,055.7[4] | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 1971 | 6,027.8[4] | 98.6[5] | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 1972 | 6,053.6[6] | 25.8 | 86.4 | 41.4 | 45.0 | -19.2 |
| 1973 | 6,078.9[6] | 25.3 | 83.4 | 42.3 | 41.1 | -15.8 |
| 1974 | 6,122.7[6] | 43.8 | 83.8 | 42.9 | 40.9 | 2.9 |
| 1975 | 6,179.0[6] | 56.3 | 89.0 | 44.4 | 44.6 | 11.7 |
| 1976 | 6,234.4[4] | 55.4 | 98.6 | 42.5 | 56.1 | -0.7 |
| 1977 | 6,284.0[6] | 49.6 | 94.1 | 43.1 | 51.0 | -1.4 |
| 1978 | 6,302.4[6] | 18.4 | 94.7 | 43.7 | 51.0 | -32.6 |
| 1979 | 6,338.9[6] | 36.5 | 98.1 | 42.5 | 55.6 | -19.1 |
| 1980 | 6,386.1[6] | 47.2 | 98.5 | 44.1 | 54.4 | -7.2 |
| 1981 | 6,438.2[4] | 52.1 | 96.8 | 42.7 | 54.1 | 2.0 |
| 1982 | 6,479.8[7] | 41.6 | 93.8 | 43.1 | 50.7 | -9.1 |
| 1983 | 6,510.1[7] | 30.3 | 88.7 | 44.5 | 44.2 | -13.9 |
| 1984 | 6,544.9[7] | 34.8 | 88.5 | 43.7 | 44.8 | -10.0 |
| 1985 | 6,582.7[7] | 37.8 | 88.1 | 46.4 | 41.7 | -3.9 |
| 1986 | 6,627.2[7] | 44.5 | 86.9 | 46.3 | 40.6 | 3.9 |
| | | | Ontario | | | |
| 1951 | 4,597.6[4] | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 1971 | 7,703.1[4] | 155.3[5] | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 1972 | 7,809.9[6] | 106.8 | 127.1 | 57.5 | 69.6 | 37.2 |
| 1973 | 7,908.8[6] | 98.9 | 124.0 | 58.8 | 65.2 | 33.7 |
| 1974 | 8,054.1[6] | 145.3 | 122.9 | 60.4 | 62.5 | 82.8 |
| 1975 | 8,172.2[6] | 118.1 | 126.5 | 61.2 | 65.3 | 52.8 |
| 1976 | 8,264.5[4] | 92.3 | 123.6 | 60.6 | 63.0 | 29.3 |
| 1977 | 8,353.1[6] | 88.6 | 122.7 | 60.3 | 62.4 | 26.2 |
| 1978 | 8,439.6[6] | 86.5 | 122.0 | 62.0 | 60.0 | 26.5 |
| 1979 | 8,501.3[6] | 61.7 | 121.7 | 60.3 | 61.4 | 0.3 |
| 1980 | 8,569.7[6] | 68.4 | 121.8 | 62.8 | 59.0 | 9.4 |
| 1981 | 8,624.7[4] | 55.0 | 123.0 | 62.6 | 60.4 | 5.4 |
| 1982 | 8,716.1[7] | 91.4 | 123.0 | 62.9 | 60.1 | 31.3 |
| 1983 | 8,825.2[7] | 109.1 | 126.5 | 64.5 | 62.0 | 47.1 |
| 1984 | 8,942.4[7] | 117.2 | 127.9 | 64.3 | 63.6 | 53.6 |
| 1985 | 9,064.2[7] | 121.8 | 133.2 | 65.5 | 67.7 | 54.1 |
| 1986 | 9,181.9[7] | 117.7 | 130.9 | 66.3 | 64.6 | 53.1 |

See footnote(s) at end of table.

## Table A3. Demographic Accounts of the Provinces and Territories, 1951-1986 – Continued

| Year | Population[1] | Total Growth[2] | Births[2] | Deaths[2] | Natural Increase | Net Migration[2,3] |
|------|------------|----------------|---------|---------|------------------|-------------------|
| | | | Manitoba | | | |
| | | | (in thousands) | | | |
| 1951 | 776.5[4] | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 1971 | 988.2[4] | 10.6[5] | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 1972 | 991.2[6] | 3.0 | 17.7 | 8.0 | 9.7 | -6.7 |
| 1973 | 996.2[6] | 5.0 | 17.1 | 8.3 | 8.8 | -3.8 |
| 1974 | 1,007.5[6] | 11.3 | 17.0 | 8.4 | 8.6 | 2.7 |
| 1975 | 1,013.6[6] | 6.1 | 17.3 | 8.4 | 8.9 | -2.8 |
| 1976 | 1,021.5[4] | 7.9 | 17.2 | 8.3 | 8.9 | -1.0 |
| 1977 | 1,027.4[6] | 5.9 | 16.6 | 8.2 | 8.4 | -2.5 |
| 1978 | 1,032.0[6] | 4.6 | 16.8 | 8.2 | 8.6 | -4.0 |
| 1979 | 1,028.0[6] | -4.0 | 16.4 | 8.2 | 8.2 | -12.2 |
| 1980 | 1,024.9[6] | -3.1 | 16.0 | 8.4 | 7.6 | -10.7 |
| 1981 | 1,026.2[4] | 1.3 | 16.0 | 8.3 | 7.7 | -6.4 |
| 1982 | 1,034.5[7] | 8.3 | 16.0 | 8.8 | 7.2 | 1.1 |
| 1983 | 1,048.1[7] | 13.6 | 16.4 | 8.4 | 8.0 | 5.6 |
| 1984 | 1,058.8[7] | 10.7 | 16.6 | 8.4 | 8.2 | 2.5 |
| 1985 | 1,070.6[7] | 11.8 | 16.7 | 8.3 | 8.4 | 3.4 |
| 1986 | 1,078.6[7] | 8.0 | 17.1 | 8.9 | 8.2 | -0.2 |
| | | | Saskatchewan | | | |
| 1951 | 831.7[4] | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 1971 | 926.2[4] | 4.7[5] | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 1972 | 914.0[6] | -12.2 | 15.7 | 7.5 | 8.2 | -20.4 |
| 1973 | 904.5[6] | -9.5 | 15.2 | 7.6 | 7.6 | -17.1 |
| 1974 | 899.7[6] | -4.8 | 14.8 | 7.8 | 7.0 | -11.8 |
| 1975 | 907.4[6] | 7.7 | 15.1 | 7.7 | 7.4 | 0.3 |
| 1976 | 921.3[4] | 13.9 | 15.7 | 7.8 | 7.9 | 6.0 |
| 1977 | 934.9[6] | 13.6 | 16.3 | 7.9 | 8.4 | 5.2 |
| 1978 | 943.5[6] | 8.6 | 16.4 | 7.6 | 8.8 | 0.2 |
| 1979 | 951.3[6] | 7.8 | 16.9 | 7.4 | 9.5 | -1.7 |
| 1980 | 959.4[6] | 8.1 | 16.9 | 7.6 | 9.3 | -1.2 |
| 1981 | 968.3[4] | 8.9 | 17.1 | 7.5 | 9.6 | 0.7 |
| 1982 | 979.1[7] | 10.8 | 17.4 | 7.8 | 9.6 | 1.2 |
| 1983 | 993.6[7] | 14.5 | 17.8 | 8.0 | 9.8 | 4.7 |
| 1984 | 1,006.9[7] | 13.3 | 18.0 | 7.6 | 10.4 | 2.9 |
| 1985 | 1,017.8[7] | 10.9 | 17.8 | 7.9 | 9.9 | 1.0 |
| 1986 | 1,021.0[7] | 3.2 | 18.1 | 8.3 | 9.8 | -6.6 |

See footnote(s) at end of table.

**Table A3. Demographic Accounts of the Provinces and Territories, 1951-1986** – Continued

| Year | Population[1] | Total Growth[2] | Births[2] | Deaths[2] | Natural Increase | Net Migration[2,3] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Alberta | | | |
| | | | (in thousands) | | | |
| 1951 | 939.5[4] | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 1971 | 1,627.9[4] | 34.4[5] | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 1972 | 1,657.3[6] | 29.4 | 29.6 | 10.7 | 18.9 | 10.5 |
| 1973 | 1,689.5[6] | 32.2 | 29.6 | 10.8 | 18.8 | 13.4 |
| 1974 | 1,722.4[6] | 32.9 | 29.1 | 10.9 | 18.2 | 14.7 |
| 1975 | 1,778.3[6] | 55.9 | 30.5 | 11.4 | 19.1 | 36.8 |
| 1976 | 1,838.0[4] | 59.7 | 32.4 | 11.5 | 20.9 | 38.8 |
| 1977 | 1,912.7[6] | 74.7 | 33.8 | 11.4 | 22.4 | 52.3 |
| 1978 | 1,983.1[6] | 70.4 | 34.7 | 11.8 | 22.9 | 47.5 |
| 1979 | 2,052.8[6] | 69.7 | 36.1 | 12.0 | 24.1 | 45.6 |
| 1980 | 2,140.6[6] | 87.8 | 37.8 | 12.3 | 25.5 | 62.3 |
| 1981 | 2,237.3[4] | 96.7 | 41.0 | 12.6 | 28.4 | 68.3 |
| 1982 | 2,318.5[7] | 81.2 | 43.8 | 13.1 | 30.7 | 50.5 |
| 1983 | 2,346.5[7] | 28.0 | 45.3 | 12.8 | 32.5 | -4.5 |
| 1984 | 2,350.2[7] | 3.7 | 44.9 | 12.6 | 32.3 | -28.6 |
| | 2,358.0[7] | 7.8 | 45.4 | 12.7 | 32.7 | -24.9 |
| | 2,389.5[7] | 31.5 | 45.0 | 13.6 | 31.4 | 0.1 |
| | | | British Columbia | | | |
| 1951 | 1,165.2[4] | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 1971 | 2,184.6[4] | 51.0[5] | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 1972 | 2,241.4[6] | 56.8 | 34.4 | 17.7 | 16.7 | 40.1 |
| 1973 | 2,302.4[6] | 61.0 | 34.6 | 18.0 | 16.6 | 44.4 |
| 1974 | 2,375.7[6] | 73.3 | 34.5 | 18.6 | 15.9 | 57.4 |
| 1975 | 2,433.2[6] | 57.5 | 36.1 | 19.5 | 16.6 | 40.9 |
| 1976 | 2,466.6[4] | 33.4 | 36.2 | 19.2 | 17.0 | 16.4 |
| 1977 | 2,499.4[6] | 32.8 | 35.9 | 18.3 | 17.6 | 15.2 |
| 1978 | 2,542.3[6] | 42.9 | 36.1 | 18.8 | 17.3 | 25.6 |
| 1979 | 2,589.4[6] | 47.1 | 38.0 | 19.1 | 18.9 | 28.2 |
| 1980 | 2,666.0[6] | 76.6 | 38.9 | 19.2 | 19.7 | 56.9 |
| 1981 | 2,744.2[4] | 78.2 | 40.7 | 19.7 | 21.0 | 57.2 |
| 1982 | 2,791.1[7] | 46.9 | 42.6 | 20.2 | 22.4 | 24.5 |
| 1983 | 2,820.6[7] | 29.5 | 42.4 | 20.3 | 22.1 | 7.4 |
| 1984 | 2,857.9[7] | 37.3 | 43.4 | 20.3 | 23.1 | 14.2 |
| | 2,884.7[7] | 26.8 | 44.3 | 20.3 | 24.0 | 2.8 |
| | 2,905.9[7] | 21.2 | 44.7 | 21.8 | 22.9 | -1.7 |

See footnote(s) at end of table.

**Table A3. Demographic Accounts of the Provinces and Territories, 1951-1986 – Concluded**

| Year | Population[1] | Total Growth[2] | Births[2] | Deaths[2] | Natural Increase | Net Migration[2,3] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Yukon | | | |
| | | | (in thousands) | | | |
| 1951 | 9.1[4] | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 1971 | 18.4[4] | 0.5[5] | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 1972 | 19.5[6] | 1.1 | 0.5 | 0.1 | 0.4 | 0.7 |
| 1973 | 20.5[6] | 1.0 | 0.5 | 0.1 | 0.4 | 0.6 |
| 1974 | 20.5[6] | 0.0 | 0.4 | 0.1 | 0.3 | -0.3 |
| 1975 | 21.3[6] | 0.8 | 0.5 | 0.1 | 0.4 | 0.4 |
| 1976 | 21.8[4] | 0.5 | 0.4 | 0.1 | 0.3 | 0.2 |
| 1977 | 21.8[6] | 0.0 | 0.5 | 0.1 | 0.4 | -0.4 |
| 1978 | 22.5[6] | 0.7 | 0.4 | 0.1 | 0.3 | 0.4 |
| 1979 | 22.3[6] | -0.2 | 0.5 | 0.1 | 0.4 | -0.6 |
| 1980 | 22.3[6] | 0.0 | 0.5 | 0.1 | 0.4 | -0.4 |
| 1981 | 23.2[4] | 0.9 | 0.5 | 0.1 | 0.4 | 0.5 |
| 1982 | 23.7[7] | 0.5 | 0.5 | 0.1 | 0.4 | 0.1 |
| 1983 | 22.4[7] | -1.3 | 0.5 | 0.1 | 0.4 | -1.7 |
| 1984 | 22.4[7] | 0.0 | 0.5 | 0.1 | 0.4 | -0.4 |
| 1985 | 23.2[7] | 0.8 | 0.5 | 0.1 | 0.4 | 0.4 |
| 1986 | 22.9[7] | -0.3 | 0.5 | 0.1 | 0.4 | -0.7 |
| | | | Northwest Territories | | | |
| 1951 | 16.0[4] | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 1971 | 34.8[4] | 0.9[5] | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 1972 | 37.3[6] | 2.5 | 1.3 | 0.2 | 1.1 | 1.4 |
| 1973 | 39.4[6] | 2.1 | 1.2 | 0.3 | 0.9 | 1.2 |
| 1974 | 39.6[6] | 0.2 | 1.1 | 0.2 | 0.9 | 0.7 |
| 1975 | 41.2[6] | 1.6 | 1.1 | 0.2 | 0.9 | 0.7 |
| 1976 | 42.6[4] | 1.4 | 1.2 | 0.2 | 1.0 | 0.4 |
| 1977 | 42.8[6] | 0.2 | 1.2 | 0.2 | 1.0 | -0.8 |
| 1978 | 43.6[6] | 0.8 | 1.2 | 0.2 | 1.0 | -0.2 |
| 1979 | 44.0[6] | 0.4 | 1.2 | 0.2 | 1.0 | -0.6 |
| 1980 | 44.7[6] | 0.7 | 1.3 | 0.2 | 1.1 | -0.4 |
| 1981 | 45.7[4] | 1.0 | 1.3 | 0.2 | 1.1 | -0.1 |
| 1982 | 47.2[7] | 1.5 | 1.3 | 0.2 | 1.1 | 0.4 |
| 1983 | 48.5[7] | 1.3 | 1.5 | 0.2 | 1.3 | 0.0 |
| 1984 | 49.7[7] | 1.2 | 1.4 | 0.2 | 1.2 | 0.0 |
| 1985 | 51.0[7] | 1.3 | 1.5 | 0.2 | 1.3 | 0.0 |
| 1986 | 50.9[7] | -0.1 | 1.2 | 0.2 | 1.0 | -1.1 |

[1] As of June 1st.
[2] From June 1st of the preceding year to May 31st of the year indicated.
[3] Difference between total growth and natural increase.
[4] Data from the Census of Canada.
[5] Average Annual Growth from June 1st 1951 to May 31st 1971.
[6] Intercensal Estimates.
[7] Postcensal Estimates.
**Source:** Statistics Canada, Catalogues 91-201 and 91-210.

## Table A4. Median Age of the Population, Canada, 1921-1986

| Year | Males | Females | Year | Males | Females |
|------|-------|---------|------|-------|---------|
| 1921 | 24.7 | 23.2 | 1954 | 27.4 | 27.5 |
| 1922 | 24.8 | 23.3 | 1955 | 27.3 | 27.4 |
| 1923 | 24.8 | 23.4 | 1956 | 27.2 | 27.3 |
| 1924 | 24.9 | 23.6 | 1957 | 26.9 | 27.1 |
| 1925 | 24.9 | 23.7 | 1958 | 26.6 | 26.9 |
| 1926 | 25.0 | 23.8 | 1959 | 26.5 | 26.8 |
| 1927 | 25.1 | 23.9 | 1960 | 26.3 | 26.7 |
| 1928 | 25.2 | 24.0 | 1961 | 26.1 | 26.6 |
| 1929 | 25.3 | 24.0 | 1962 | 25.8 | 26.4 |
| 1930 | 25.4 | 24.0 | 1963 | 25.4 | 26.1 |
| 1931 | 25.5 | 24.0 | 1964 | 25.2 | 26.0 |
| 1932 | 25.6 | 24.2 | 1965 | 25.0 | 25.9 |
| 1933 | 25.8 | 24.4 | 1966 | 25.0 | 25.9 |
| 1934 | 26.0 | 24.7 | 1967 | 25.0 | 26.0 |
| 1935 | 26.2 | 24.9 | 1968 | 25.1 | 26.1 |
| 1936 | 26.4 | 25.2 | 1969 | 25.2 | 26.3 |
| 1937 | 26.6 | 25.4 | 1970 | 25.4 | 26.5 |
| 1938 | 26.9 | 25.8 | 1971 | 25.7 | 26.7 |
| 1939 | 27.1 | 26.1 | 1972 | 25.9 | 27.0 |
| 1940 | 27.4 | 26.4 | 1973 | 26.3 | 27.3 |
| 1941 | 27.5 | 26.6 | 1974 | 26.6 | 27.7 |
| 1942 | 27.6 | 26.7 | 1975 | 26.9 | 28.0 |
| 1943 | 27.7 | 26.9 | 1976 | 27.2 | 28.4 |
| 1944 | 27.8 | 27.1 | 1977 | 27.6 | 28.8 |
| 1945 | 27.9 | 27.2 | 1978 | 27.9 | 29.2 |
| 1946 | 28.0 | 27.4 | 1979 | 28.3 | 29.6 |
| 1947 | 27.9 | 27.5 | 1980 | 28.6 | 29.9 |
| 1948 | 27.9 | 27.5 | 1981 | 29.0 | 30.3 |
| 1949 | 27.8 | 27.5 | 1982 | 29.3 | 30.7 |
| 1950 | 27.8 | 27.6 | 1983 | 29.6 | 31.1 |
| 1951 | 27.8 | 27.6 | 1984 | 30.0 | 31.5 |
| 1952 | 27.6 | 27.6 | 1985 | 30.4 | 31.9 |
| 1953 | 27.5 | 27.6 | 1986 | 30.7 | 32.3 |

Sources: Statistics Canada, Catalogue 91-210, Vol. 1 (1982).
Statistics Canada, Catalogue 91-518 (1971-1981).
Demography Division, unpublished data (1921-1970, 1983-1986).

**Table A5. Evolution of Dependancy Ratios, Canada, United States and Western Europe[1], 1961-1981**

| Country | Year | Youth Dependancy Ratio | Change Since 1961 | Elderly Dependancy Ratio | Change Since 1961 | Total Dependancy Ratio | Change Since 1961 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Canada | 1961 | 58.2 | – | 13.0 | – | 71.2 | – |
| | 1966 | 55.4 | –2.8 | 13.0 | – | 68.4 | –2.8 |
| | 1971 | 47.5 | –10.7 | 13.0 | – | 60.5 | –10.7 |
| | 1976 | 39.0 | –19.2 | 13.2 | 0.2 | 52.2 | –19.0 |
| | 1981 | 33.2 | –25.0 | 14.3 | 1.3 | 47.5 | –23.7 |
| United States | 1961 | 51.6 | – | 14.9 | – | 66.5 | – |
| | 1966 | 50.3 | –1.3 | 15.6 | 0.7 | 65.9 | –0.6 |
| | 1971 | 44.8 | –6.8 | 15.9 | 1.0 | 60.7 | –5.8 |
| | 1976 | 38.2 | –13.4 | 16.4 | 1.5 | 54.6 | –11.9 |
| | 1981 | 33.9 | –17.7 | 17.3 | 2.4 | 51.2 | –15.3 |
| Europe | 1961 | 37.8 | – | 15.9 | – | 53.7 | – |
| | 1966 | 37.8 | – | 17.2 | 1.3 | 55.0 | 1.3 |
| | 1971 | 37.1 | –0.7 | 18.2 | 2.3 | 55.3 | 1.6 |
| | 1976 | 35.0 | –2.8 | 16.0 | 0.1 | 51.0 | –2.7 |
| | 1981 | 32.5 | –5.3 | 19.2 | 3.3 | 51.7 | –2.0 |

[1] The dependancy ratios for Western Europe are the weighted average of the dependancy ratios of the following countries: Austria, Belgium, France, West Germany, Hungary, Italy, Netherlands, Norway, Romania, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom. The weights correspond to population size.

**Source:** United Nations, *Demographic Yearbooks.*

**Table A6. Distribution of Singles, Aged 15+, by Age and Sex, Canada, 1951 and 1986**

| Age Group | Males | | Females | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1951 | 1986 | 1951 | 1986 |
| 15-19 | 33.4 | 31.6 | 39.0 | 36.3 |
| 20-24 | 25.3 | 32.4 | 21.5 | 30.4 |
| 25-29 | 12.3 | 16.0 | 9.6 | 11.8 |
| 30-34 | 6.3 | 6.3 | 5.9 | 5.2 |
| 35-39 | 4.8 | 3.4 | 5.0 | 3.3 |
| 40-44 | 3.8 | 2.0 | 4.2 | 2.0 |
| 45-49 | 3.2 | 1.5 | 3.4 | 1.5 |
| 50-54 | 2.7 | 1.3 | 2.8 | 1.3 |
| 55-59 | 2.2 | 1.4 | 2.3 | 1.4 |
| 60-64 | 1.9 | 1.2 | 1.9 | 1.4 |
| 65 and over | 4.1 | 2.7 | 4.5 | 5.3 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

**Sources:** Statistics Canada. 1951 Census of Canada.
Statistics Canada, Demography Division, unpublished data.

## Table A7. Percentage Distribution of the Population by Marital Status, Age and Sex, Canada, 1951, 1956, 1961, 1966, 1971, 1976, 1981, 1986

**Male**

**Single**

| Age | 1951 | 1956 | 1961 | 1966 | 1971 | 1976 | 1981 | 1986 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 15-19 | 99.0 | 98.9 | 98.7 | 98.8 | 98.4 | 98.0 | 98.4 | 99.7 |
| 20-24 | 74.4 | 72.2 | 69.5 | 70.0 | 67.6 | 67.7 | 71.9 | 85.0 |
| 25-29 | 35.1 | 33.9 | 29.6 | 27.4 | 25.6 | 27.0 | 32.0 | 42.1 |
| 30-34 | 19.6 | 18.7 | 17.4 | 15.1 | 13.3 | 13.1 | 15.0 | 18.0 |
| 35-39 | 14.9 | 13.8 | 13.0 | 12.2 | 10.3 | 9.1 | 9.3 | 10.6 |
| 40-44 | 13.3 | 12.3 | 10.9 | 10.8 | 9.4 | 8.2 | 7.8 | 7.7 |
| 45-49 | 13.2 | 12.0 | 10.5 | 10.1 | 9.1 | 8.3 | 7.5 | 6.9 |
| 50-54 | 12.6 | 12.5 | 10.5 | 10.0 | 8.7 | 8.3 | 7.8 | 6.8 |
| 55-59 | 11.7 | 12.2 | 11.2 | 10.2 | 9.2 | 8.0 | 7.8 | 7.2 |
| 60-64 | 11.5 | 11.6 | 11.5 | 11.1 | 9.7 | 8.5 | 7.6 | 7.1 |
| 65 + | 11.8 | 11.4 | 10.8 | 11.1 | 10.6 | 9.2 | 8.1 | 7.3 |

**Married**

| Age | 1951 | 1956 | 1961 | 1966 | 1971 | 1976 | 1981 | 1986 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 15-19 | 0.1 | 1.1 | 1.3 | 1.2 | 1.4 | 2.0 | 1.5 | 0.3 |
| 20-24 | 25.5 | 27.8 | 30.4 | 30.0 | 32.0 | 32.0 | 27.8 | 14.8 |
| 25-29 | 64.6 | 65.8 | 70.1 | 72.3 | 73.3 | 71.7 | 66.3 | 55.7 |
| 30-34 | 79.9 | 80.8 | 82.1 | 84.3 | 85.1 | 84.8 | 82.1 | 77.0 |
| 35-39 | 84.2 | 85.5 | 86.2 | 87.0 | 87.9 | 88.4 | 86.9 | 83.3 |
| 40-44 | 85.2 | 86.5 | 87.7 | 80.0 | 88.3 | 88.9 | 87.9 | 85.6 |
| 45-49 | 84.6 | 86.1 | 87.6 | 88.2 | 88.2 | 88.3 | 87.8 | 86.2 |
| 50-54 | 83.7 | 84.5 | 86.5 | 87.4 | 88.0 | 87.8 | 86.8 | 86.1 |
| 55-59 | 82.8 | 82.8 | 84.0 | 85.5 | 86.4 | 87.3 | 86.2 | 85.4 |
| 60-64 | 80.1 | 80.6 | 81.0 | 82.9 | 84.3 | 85.4 | 85.5 | 85.0 |
| 65 + | 65.7 | 66.6 | 68.5 | 69.1 | 71.8 | 74.0 | 76.6 | 76.3 |

**Widowed**

| Age | 1951 | 1956 | 1961 | 1966 | 1971 | 1976 | 1981 | 1986 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 15-19 | – | – | – | – | 0.1 | – | – | – |
| 20-24 | – | – | – | – | 0.1 | – | – | – |
| 25-29 | 0.2 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.2 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.1 |
| 30-34 | 0.3 | 0.2 | 0.2 | 0.2 | 0.3 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.1 |
| 35-39 | 0.6 | 0.5 | 0.4 | 0.4 | 0.4 | 0.3 | 0.2 | 0.2 |
| 40-44 | 1.0 | 0.8 | 0.9 | 0.6 | 0.7 | 0.5 | 0.4 | 0.4 |
| 45-49 | 1.8 | 1.5 | 1.3 | 1.1 | 1.1 | 1.0 | 0.8 | 0.8 |
| 50-54 | 3.2 | 2.6 | 2.4 | 1.9 | 1.8 | 1.7 | 1.6 | 1.4 |
| 55-59 | 5.1 | 4.5 | 4.2 | 3.7 | 2.9 | 2.7 | 2.6 | 2.5 |
| 60-64 | 8.0 | 7.3 | 6.9 | 5.3 | 4.7 | 4.4 | 4.2 | 4.1 |
| 65 + | 22.3 | 21.7 | 20.4 | 19.4 | 16.7 | 15.2 | 14.1 | 13.9 |

**Divorced**

| Age | 1951 | 1956 | 1961 | 1966 | 1971 | 1976 | 1981 | 1986 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 15-19 | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 20-24 | – | – | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.2 | 0.2 | 0.3 | 0.2 |
| 25-29 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.2 | 0.3 | 0.9 | 1.2 | 1.6 | 2.1 |
| 30-34 | 0.3 | 0.2 | 0.3 | 0.4 | 1.3 | 3.4 | 2.8 | 4.8 |
| 35-39 | 0.4 | 0.3 | 0.4 | 0.5 | 1.5 | 2.3 | 3.5 | 5.9 |
| 40-44 | 0.5 | 0.4 | 0.5 | 0.6 | 1.6 | 2.4 | 3.9 | 6.3 |
| 45-49 | 0.5 | 0.5 | 0.6 | 0.6 | 1.6 | 2.4 | 3.9 | 6.2 |
| 50-54 | 0.5 | 0.5 | 0.7 | 0.7 | 1.5 | 2.3 | 3.8 | 5.7 |
| 55-59 | 0.4 | 0.5 | 0.6 | 0.7 | 1.5 | 2.7 | 3.3 | 4.9 |
| 60-64 | 0.4 | 0.4 | 0.6 | 0.6 | 1.4 | 1.8 | 2.8 | 3.9 |
| 65 + | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.4 | 0.4 | 0.9 | 1.2 | 1.8 | 2.4 |

**Source:** See end of table

**Table A7. Percentage Distribution of the Population by Marital Status, Age and Sex, Canada, 1951, 1956, 1961, 1966, 1971, 1976, 1981, 1986 – Concluded**

| Age | Single | | | | | | | | Married | | | | | | | | Widowed | | | | | | | | Divorced | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1951 | 1956 | 1961 | 1966 | 1971 | 1976 | 1981 | 1986 | 1951 | 1956 | 1961 | 1966 | 1971 | 1976 | 1981 | 1986 | 1951 | 1956 | 1961 | 1966 | 1971 | 1976 | 1981 | 1986 | 1951 | 1956 | 1961 | 1966 | 1971 | 1976 | 1981 | 1986 |
| **Female** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 15-19 | 92.1 | 91.6 | 91.3 | 92.4 | 92.5 | 91.8 | 93.4 | 97.8 | 7.9 | 8.4 | 8.7 | 7.6 | 7.3 | 8.1 | 6.6 | 2.1 | – | – | – | – | 0.2 | 0.1 | 0.1 | – | – | – | – | – | 0.1 | – | – | – |
| 20-24 | 48.5 | 44.3 | 40.5 | 44.2 | 43.5 | 45.3 | 51.1 | 67.1 | 51.2 | 55.5 | 59.2 | 55.4 | 55.7 | 53.9 | 48.0 | 32.0 | 0.2 | 0.2 | 0.2 | 0.1 | 0.3 | 0.2 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.2 | 0.2 | 0.6 | 0.7 | 0.8 | 0.7 |
| 25-29 | 20.7 | 18.7 | 15.4 | 14.9 | 15.4 | 16.3 | 20.1 | 25.3 | 78.5 | 81.0 | 83.8 | 84.1 | 82.5 | 81.0 | 76.8 | 70.8 | 0.5 | 0.4 | 0.4 | 0.4 | 0.5 | 0.4 | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.4 | 0.3 | 0.4 | 0.6 | 1.5 | 2.4 | 2.9 | 3.6 |
| 30-34 | 13.8 | 11.6 | 10.6 | 9.3 | 9.1 | 9.1 | 10.5 | 11.9 | 84.4 | 87.0 | 88.1 | 89.1 | 88.1 | 86.8 | 84.3 | 81.2 | 1.2 | 0.9 | 0.8 | 0.8 | 0.9 | 0.7 | 0.6 | 0.5 | 0.6 | 0.5 | 0.6 | 0.7 | 2.0 | 3.5 | 4.7 | 6.4 |
| 35-39 | 12.4 | 10.3 | 9.2 | 7.9 | 7.3 | 6.8 | 7.3 | 8.2 | 84.8 | 87.2 | 88.5 | 89.5 | 89.0 | 88.1 | 85.9 | 83.0 | 2.1 | 1.9 | 1.6 | 1.8 | 1.6 | 1.3 | 1.1 | 1.0 | 0.7 | 0.7 | 0.7 | 0.9 | 2.1 | 3.8 | 5.7 | 7.8 |
| 40-44 | 12.3 | 10.6 | 8.9 | 7.6 | 6.9 | 6.2 | 6.1 | 6.4 | 83.2 | 85.1 | 87.0 | 88.3 | 88.3 | 87.9 | 85.9 | 83.0 | 3.7 | 3.5 | 3.3 | 3.2 | 2.7 | 2.5 | 2.2 | 1.9 | 0.8 | 0.8 | 0.8 | 0.9 | 2.1 | 3.8 | 5.8 | 8.7 |
| 45-49 | 11.7 | 10.9 | 9.5 | 7.9 | 7.0 | 6.2 | 5.8 | 5.6 | 81.2 | 82.3 | 83.7 | 85.3 | 86.0 | 85.7 | 84.7 | 82.6 | 6.5 | 6.1 | 5.9 | 5.8 | 5.0 | 4.6 | 4.1 | 3.6 | 0.7 | 0.8 | 0.9 | 1.0 | 2.0 | 3.5 | 5.4 | 8.1 |
| 50-54 | 10.9 | 11.0 | 10.4 | 9.5 | 7.7 | 6.5 | 6.0 | 5.5 | 77.6 | 78.0 | 79.2 | 80.0 | 81.6 | 82.3 | 81.6 | 80.7 | 11.0 | 10.5 | 9.5 | 9.5 | 8.8 | 8.2 | 7.6 | 6.8 | 0.6 | 0.6 | 0.9 | 1.0 | 1.9 | 3.1 | 4.7 | 7.0 |
| 55-59 | 10.2 | 10.2 | 10.5 | 10.2 | 9.0 | 7.3 | 6.3 | 5.8 | 72.7 | 72.6 | 73.0 | 73.9 | 74.8 | 76.2 | 76.8 | 76.3 | 16.7 | 16.8 | 15.9 | 15.0 | 14.5 | 14.0 | 13.0 | 12.2 | 0.4 | 0.5 | 0.7 | 0.9 | 1.7 | 2.5 | 3.9 | 5.7 |
| 60-64 | 9.8 | 9.9 | 10.2 | 10.7 | 10.2 | 8.7 | 7.1 | 6.0 | 65.5 | 65.2 | 64.8 | 64.2 | 65.8 | 67.2 | 68.7 | 70.1 | 24.4 | 24.5 | 24.4 | 24.5 | 22.6 | 22.0 | 21.1 | 19.4 | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.6 | 0.7 | 1.5 | 2.1 | 3.1 | 4.5 |
| 65 + | 10.4 | 10.0 | 10.2 | 10.3 | 10.7 | 10.2 | 9.3 | 8.5 | 41.6 | 41.4 | 41.2 | 39.1 | 39.2 | 39.0 | 39.9 | 41.1 | 47.9 | 48.5 | 48.4 | 50.3 | 49.4 | 49.8 | 49.0 | 48.1 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.2 | 0.3 | 0.7 | 1.0 | 1.5 | 2.3 |

**Source:** Statistics Canada, Censuses of Canada, Catalogue 99-704, Vol. 1, Table 36, 1978, Catalogue 92-825, Table 22, 1976, Catalogue 92-901, Table 4, 1981, and unpublished estimates of Population by Sex, Age and Marital Status, June 1986.

## Table A8. Age-specific First Marriage Rates (per 1,000) for Male Cohorts, 1938-1968 and Female Cohorts 1940-1970, Canada

**Males**

| Year of Birth | 1938 | 1939 | 1940 | 1941 | 1942 | 1943 | 1944 | 1945 | 1946 | 1947 | 1948 | 1949 | 1950 | 1951 | 1952 | 1953 | 1954 | 1955 | 1956 | 1957 | 1958 | 1959 | 1960 | 1961 | 1962 | 1963 | 1964 | 1965 | 1966 | 1967 | 1968 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Year of 17th Birthday | 1955 | 1956 | 1957 | 1958 | 1959 | 1960 | 1961 | 1962 | 1963 | 1964 | 1965 | 1966 | 1967 | 1968 | 1969 | 1970 | 1971 | 1972 | 1973 | 1974 | 1975 | 1976 | 1977 | 1978 | 1979 | 1980 | 1981 | 1982 | 1983 | 1984 | 1985 |
| **Age** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 17 | 3.3 | 4.9 | 4.7 | 5.0 | 4.9 | 4.9 | 4.4 | 4.0 | 3.8 | 4.0 | 3.9 | 3.9 | 3.9 | 3.8 | 4.0 | 4.3 | 4.3 | 4.7 | 4.9 | 4.5 | 3.9 | 3.3 | 2.5 | 2.0 | 1.6 | 1.7 | 1.2 | 0.9 | 0.7 | 0.6 | 0.6 |
| 18 | 18.5 | 19.3 | 19.2 | 19.0 | 19.2 | 18.0 | 17.1 | 15.3 | 15.9 | 18.3 | 18.1 | 17.8 | 16.9 | 17.2 | 17.9 | 18.9 | 21.9 | 20.6 | 19.7 | 18.3 | 15.0 | 13.0 | 11.1 | 9.6 | 8.6 | 6.8 | 6.1 | 4.5 | 4.0 | 3.7 | |
| 19 | 43.1 | 44.2 | 43.9 | 44.5 | 42.6 | 43.1 | 38.1 | 37.7 | 39.2 | 44.6 | 44.2 | 41.0 | 39.8 | 41.7 | 44.2 | 48.7 | 48.0 | 44.7 | 41.3 | 36.6 | 32.4 | 28.7 | 25.3 | 22.7 | 19.9 | 16.7 | 13.4 | 11.3 | 10.2 | | |
| 20 | 76.0 | 76.8 | 74.2 | 75.5 | 74.5 | 73.7 | 71.7 | 70.6 | 73.3 | 82.8 | 77.4 | 73.4 | 73.6 | 77.3 | 83.6 | 81.7 | 77.6 | 71.3 | 62.0 | 58.8 | 53.4 | 49.7 | 44.9 | 40.7 | 35.4 | 29.4 | 24.8 | 22.1 | | | |
| 21 | 114.8 | 112.9 | 114.7 | 113.4 | 111.3 | 116.8 | 114.0 | 112.9 | 118.1 | 127.6 | 120.1 | 114.0 | 116.5 | 116.5 | 109.5 | 100.2 | 96.9 | 82.9 | 79.4 | 75.0 | 71.6 | 68.1 | 61.8 | 55.2 | 48.3 | 42.4 | 38.2 | | | | |
| 22 | 117.8 | 118.6 | 118.4 | 121.1 | 122.6 | 130.6 | 130.6 | 128.2 | 128.6 | 140.0 | 130.3 | 125.3 | 127.1 | 118.5 | 110.4 | 102.6 | 92.3 | 86.3 | 83.2 | 82.4 | 80.5 | 74.3 | 70.0 | 62.4 | 57.8 | 53.1 | | | | | |
| 23 | 112.8 | 114.5 | 114.7 | 119.4 | 121.9 | 131.3 | 128.1 | 119.6 | 121.1 | 130.7 | 116.1 | 118.3 | 110.2 | 101.0 | 96.4 | 87.5 | 84.7 | 81.6 | 80.4 | 81.3 | 77.7 | 74.6 | 68.6 | 67.4 | 64.4 | | | | | | |
| 24 | 98.6 | 98.5 | 101.1 | 106.0 | 108.3 | 111.0 | 106.0 | 98.5 | 98.3 | 97.3 | 97.5 | 92.5 | 87.3 | 82.4 | 75.2 | 73.7 | 72.5 | 72.6 | 73.5 | 72.1 | 70.4 | 69.6 | 68.2 | 67.0 | | | | | | | |
| 25 | 79.5 | 82.2 | 83.9 | 86.6 | 85.5 | 84.8 | 80.8 | 75.2 | 78.1 | 75.3 | 72.7 | 68.9 | 67.0 | 61.9 | 62.5 | 61.4 | 62.1 | 63.2 | 63.8 | 62.4 | 61.2 | 63.9 | 62.8 | | | | | | | | |
| 26 | 63.1 | 65.2 | 64.1 | 64.6 | 64.3 | 62.0 | 59.7 | 56.2 | 58.5 | 55.5 | 52.6 | 51.4 | 48.7 | 49.8 | 48.8 | 50.2 | 50.9 | 52.2 | 53.5 | 52.7 | 52.8 | 55.5 | | | | | | | | | |
| 27 | 48.8 | 49.2 | 49.6 | 47.8 | 46.7 | 44.9 | 42.1 | 42.3 | 42.4 | 40.7 | 39.8 | 38.2 | 38.9 | 39.0 | 40.4 | 41.5 | 42.4 | 42.5 | 42.7 | 45.0 | 46.4 | | | | | | | | | | |
| 28 | 37.4 | 37.2 | 36.8 | 35.9 | 34.0 | 33.5 | 31.2 | 31.3 | 31.1 | 30.7 | 29.7 | 31.3 | 31.5 | 31.8 | 32.9 | 33.6 | 34.4 | 35.2 | 36.2 | 37.8 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 29 | 29.2 | 28.4 | 28.0 | 27.5 | 24.7 | 25.9 | 23.9 | 23.3 | 24.1 | 23.2 | 23.6 | 23.7 | 25.0 | 26.4 | 27.4 | 27.5 | 29.1 | 29.8 | 31.4 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 30 | 21.8 | 21.5 | 22.4 | 20.4 | 19.5 | 18.9 | 18.6 | 18.5 | 18.3 | 18.3 | 18.9 | 19.5 | 20.6 | 21.0 | 21.8 | 23.0 | 23.6 | 24.4 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 31 | 16.5 | 16.5 | 15.6 | 15.3 | 14.6 | 14.5 | 14.1 | 14.2 | 14.6 | 14.3 | 14.7 | 15.7 | 16.1 | 16.8 | 18.0 | 18.7 | 19.2 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 32 | 13.7 | 12.5 | 12.6 | 12.4 | 11.4 | 11.3 | 11.3 | 11.2 | 11.3 | 11.3 | 12.0 | 12.4 | 13.3 | 13.4 | 15.2 | 15.5 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 33 | 10.6 | 10.8 | 9.6 | 10.2 | 9.3 | 8.7 | 9.2 | 8.7 | 9.3 | 9.4 | 9.8 | 10.3 | 11.2 | 11.6 | 12.1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 34 | 8.4 | 8.6 | 7.8 | 8.1 | 7.4 | 7.2 | 7.1 | 7.3 | 7.6 | 7.9 | 8.0 | 8.8 | 9.0 | 9.7 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 35 | 7.0 | 6.4 | 6.8 | 6.2 | 6.0 | 6.0 | 6.1 | 6.3 | 6.3 | 6.5 | 6.9 | 7.6 | 7.8 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 36 | 5.8 | 5.8 | 5.5 | 5.0 | 4.8 | 5.0 | 4.6 | 5.2 | 5.7 | 5.6 | 5.9 | 6.3 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 37 | 5.0 | 4.3 | 4.6 | 4.2 | 4.3 | 4.2 | 4.3 | 4.0 | 4.6 | 4.5 | 4.7 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 38 | 4.0 | 4.0 | 3.4 | 3.4 | 3.4 | 3.4 | 3.4 | 3.5 | 3.7 | 3.5 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 39 | 3.3 | 3.0 | 2.9 | 2.8 | 3.1 | 2.8 | 2.9 | 3.3 | 3.4 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 40 | 3.0 | 2.8 | 2.4 | 2.5 | 2.3 | 2.4 | 2.8 | 2.5 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 41 | 2.1 | 2.1 | 2.3 | 2.2 | 2.1 | 2.2 | 2.1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 42 | 1.7 | 1.9 | 1.8 | 1.6 | 1.8 | 2.0 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 43 | 1.6 | 1.5 | 1.5 | 1.8 | 1.7 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 44 | 1.4 | 1.4 | 1.6 | 1.5 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 45 | 1.4 | 1.3 | 1.1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

# Table A8. Age-specific First Marriage Rates (per 1,000) for Male Cohorts, 1938-1968 and Female Cohorts 1940-1970, Canada

**Females**

Column headers — top: Year of Birth; bottom: Year of 15th Birthday

| Age | 1940 | 1941 | 1942 | 1943 | 1944 | 1945 | 1946 | 1947 | 1948 | 1949 | 1950 | 1951 | 1952 | 1953 | 1954 | 1955 | 1956 | 1957 | 1958 | 1959 | 1960 | 1961 | 1962 | 1963 | 1964 | 1965 | 1966 | 1967 | 1968 | 1969 | 1970 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Year of 15th Birthday → | 1955 | 1956 | 1957 | 1958 | 1959 | 1960 | 1961 | 1962 | 1963 | 1964 | 1965 | 1966 | 1967 | 1968 | 1969 | 1970 | 1971 | 1972 | 1973 | 1974 | 1975 | 1976 | 1977 | 1978 | 1979 | 1980 | 1981 | 1982 | 1983 | 1984 | 1985 |
| 15 | 5.2 | 6.3 | 5.9 | 6.2 | 5.8 | 5.4 | 5.0 | 5.4 | 4.2 | 4.1 | 3.4 | 3.4 | 3.3 | 3.2 | 3.5 | 3.5 | 3.4 | 3.5 | 3.5 | 2.8 | 2.5 | 2.2 | 1.8 | 1.1 | 0.5 | 0.5 | 0.5 | 0.5 | 0.5 | 0.3 | 0.3 |
| 16 | 27.9 | 27.2 | 26.5 | 26.7 | 25.7 | 22.4 | 21.6 | 21.6 | 19.5 | 17.6 | 16.8 | 16.5 | 15.7 | 16.7 | 17.7 | 17.6 | 18.6 | 17.4 | 15.8 | 13.9 | 11.4 | 9.2 | 7.8 | 6.6 | 5.9 | 5.0 | 4.6 | 3.9 | 3.6 | 3.1 | |
| 17 | 61.3 | 62.1 | 59.2 | 56.8 | 53.5 | 48.5 | 45.4 | 48.7 | 44.8 | 41.0 | 40.8 | 39.7 | 38.6 | 40.6 | 40.1 | 41.8 | 39.9 | 36.1 | 33.0 | 27.4 | 23.7 | 19.7 | 17.2 | 15.3 | 12.8 | 11.1 | 9.6 | 8.5 | 7.6 | | |
| 18 | 109.5 | 110.9 | 104.6 | 101.6 | 94.3 | 86.2 | 87.2 | 93.6 | 88.0 | 84.5 | 81.7 | 82.0 | 82.7 | 85.2 | 92.3 | 87.0 | 82.3 | 77.6 | 68.1 | 61.6 | 54.6 | 49.8 | 45.4 | 39.1 | 34.6 | 29.8 | 25.8 | 24.7 | | | |
| 19 | 124.0 | 126.2 | 120.2 | 122.0 | 112.7 | 106.7 | 109.4 | 123.1 | 116.5 | 110.3 | 108.6 | 108.7 | 113.2 | 119.7 | 115.8 | 106.5 | 101.4 | 91.3 | 85.3 | 79.6 | 74.5 | 70.5 | 64.2 | 56.8 | 49.8 | 44.4 | 41.1 | | | | |
| 20 | 124.0 | 126.9 | 124.0 | 125.7 | 124.9 | 118.5 | 124.7 | 141.3 | 132.8 | 126.1 | 121.5 | 126.8 | 130.3 | 123.3 | 116.2 | 108.7 | 97.2 | 96.2 | 92.4 | 90.0 | 87.4 | 81.4 | 76.0 | 67.1 | 61.6 | 58.1 | | | | | |
| 21 | 116.3 | 120.7 | 119.5 | 127.3 | 124.5 | 122.9 | 132.1 | 143.0 | 134.6 | 126.7 | 128.8 | 125.7 | 117.5 | 109.0 | 102.5 | 91.1 | 90.4 | 90.8 | 89.5 | 89.3 | 84.7 | 81.8 | 75.6 | 74.3 | 69.7 | | | | | | |
| 22 | 91.9 | 94.1 | 95.1 | 104.4 | 103.0 | 100.7 | 105.1 | 115.9 | 105.8 | 101.3 | 100.7 | 95.4 | 89.9 | 86.2 | 79.1 | 77.5 | 76.5 | 79.4 | 79.0 | 80.0 | 76.7 | 74.3 | 74.1 | 73.1 | | | | | | | |
| 23 | 67.2 | 70.9 | 73.6 | 78.0 | 78.2 | 74.1 | 76.3 | 83.0 | 73.4 | 74.0 | 71.0 | 68.2 | 66.5 | 61.6 | 63.2 | 62.0 | 64.8 | 66.5 | 67.5 | 68.4 | 67.1 | 68.4 | 69.5 | | | | | | | | |
| 24 | 50.7 | 52.3 | 54.2 | 55.9 | 53.6 | 50.6 | 53.4 | 49.9 | 51.8 | 51.0 | 50.6 | 50.4 | 46.8 | 47.1 | 48.1 | 49.9 | 52.9 | 53.0 | 55.7 | 56.2 | 58.2 | 59.6 | | | | | | | | | |
| 25 | 36.6 | 38.8 | 39.0 | 39.2 | 38.1 | 37.7 | 38.2 | 36.5 | 36.3 | 36.5 | 36.9 | 35.7 | 36.5 | 37.0 | 38.4 | 40.8 | 42.2 | 43.3 | 44.5 | 47.4 | 49.8 | | | | | | | | | | |
| 26 | 27.2 | 27.7 | 28.1 | 28.2 | 27.9 | 25.7 | 27.7 | 25.7 | 26.1 | 27.2 | 27.2 | 28.2 | 27.8 | 29.3 | 30.2 | 31.6 | 33.7 | 35.4 | 37.4 | 39.9 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 27 | 19.6 | 20.6 | 21.0 | 21.0 | 19.9 | 18.9 | 20.1 | 18.8 | 20.0 | 20.3 | 21.0 | 21.6 | 22.2 | 24.3 | 24.5 | 25.9 | 27.0 | 29.1 | 30.2 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 28 | 16.7 | 15.8 | 15.3 | 14.9 | 15.5 | 14.8 | 15.7 | 15.1 | 14.9 | 15.6 | 16.3 | 16.9 | 18.0 | 18.6 | 19.7 | 20.8 | 22.8 | 23.4 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 29 | 12.4 | 12.6 | 12.6 | 11.6 | 11.4 | 11.7 | 11.9 | 11.1 | 12.0 | 12.4 | 12.9 | 13.9 | 14.8 | 15.7 | 16.3 | 17.3 | 18.5 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 30 | 10.3 | 9.6 | 9.4 | 9.2 | 8.9 | 9.5 | 9.4 | 9.3 | 9.4 | 9.9 | 10.8 | 11.4 | 12.0 | 12.5 | 14.0 | 14.5 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 31 | 7.8 | 7.8 | 7.8 | 7.3 | 7.3 | 7.5 | 7.4 | 6.9 | 7.5 | 7.8 | 8.6 | 9.0 | 9.7 | 10.6 | 10.8 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 32 | 6.2 | 6.0 | 6.2 | 5.9 | 5.9 | 5.9 | 6.1 | 5.9 | 6.2 | 6.5 | 7.2 | 7.6 | 8.0 | 8.4 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 33 | 5.1 | 4.9 | 4.8 | 5.2 | 4.7 | 4.7 | 4.9 | 5.0 | 5.5 | 5.5 | 5.9 | 6.5 | 6.8 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 34 | 4.3 | 4.5 | 3.9 | 4.1 | 4.1 | 4.0 | 4.0 | 4.1 | 4.4 | 4.6 | 5.2 | 5.4 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 35 | 4.1 | 3.6 | 3.7 | 3.3 | 3.4 | 3.3 | 3.6 | 3.3 | 3.6 | 4.0 | 4.2 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 36 | 2.9 | 3.0 | 2.6 | 2.7 | 2.7 | 2.5 | 3.1 | 3.0 | 2.9 | 3.3 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 37 | 2.3 | 2.2 | 2.3 | 2.0 | 2.3 | 2.2 | 2.4 | 2.2 | 2.5 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 38 | 2.1 | 2.1 | 2.2 | 2.0 | 2.1 | 2.0 | 2.3 | 2.3 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 39 | 1.6 | 1.7 | 1.6 | 1.4 | 1.7 | 1.8 | 2.0 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 40 | 1.6 | 1.5 | 1.5 | 1.3 | 1.3 | 1.5 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 41 | 1.1 | 1.1 | 1.2 | 1.1 | 1.3 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 42 | 1.1 | 1.3 | 1.1 | 1.2 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 43 | 0.9 | 0.9 | 0.9 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 44 | 0.8 | 1.0 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 45 | 0.8 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

**Source:** Statistics Canada, unpublished data.

Table A9. Number of Divorces Granted, Canada, Provinces and Territories, 1979-1985

| Province | 1979 | 1980 | 1981 | 1982 | 1983 | 1984 | 1985 | Change from 1983 to 1984 | Change from 1984 to 1985 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Newfoundland | 483 | 555 | 569 | 625 | 711 | 590 | 561 | -121 | -29 |
| Prince Edward Island | 144 | 163 | 187 | 206 | 215 | 195 | 213 | -20 | 18 |
| Nova Scotia | 2,275 | 2,314 | 2,285 | 2,281 | 2,340 | 2,264 | 2,337 | -76 | 73 |
| New Brunswick | 1,223 | 1,326 | 1,334 | 1,663 | 1,942 | 1,427 | 1,360 | -515 | -67 |
| Quebec | 14,379 | 13,899 | 19,193 | 18,579 | 17,365 | 16,845 | 15,814 | -520 | -1,031 |
| Ontario | 21,793 | 22,442 | 21,680 | 23,644 | 23,073 | 21,636 | 20,854 | -1,437 | -782 |
| Manitoba | 2,152 | 2,282 | 2,399 | 2,392 | 2,642 | 2,611 | 2,314 | -31 | -297 |
| Saskatchewan | 1,528 | 1,836 | 1,932 | 1,815 | 2,000 | 1,988 | 1,927 | -12 | -61 |
| Alberta | 6,531 | 7,580 | 8,418 | 8,882 | 8,758 | 8,454 | 8,102 | -304 | -352 |
| British Columbia | 8,826 | 9,464 | 9,533 | 10,165 | 9,348 | 8,988 | 8,330 | -360 | -658 |
| Yukon | 62 | 82 | 75 | 117 | 88 | 100 | 96 | 12 | -4 |
| Northwest Territories | 78 | 76 | 66 | 67 | 85 | 74 | 72 | -11 | -2 |
| **Canada** | **59,474** | **62,019** | **67,671** | **70,436** | **68,567** | **65,172** | **61,980** | **-3,395** | **-3,192** |

**Source:** Statistics Canada, *Vital Statistics, Vol. II, Marriages and Divorces*, Catalogue 84-205.

## Table A10. Divorces by Duration of Marriage, Canada, 1969-1985

| Duration (years) | 1969 | 1970 | 1971 | 1972 | 1973 | 1974 | 1975 | 1976 | 1977 | 1978 | 1979 | 1980 | 1981 | 1982 | 1983 | 1984 | 1985 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 0 | 51 | 58 | 75 | 84 | 99 | 105 | 129 | 153 | 148 | 139 | 157 | 152 | 163 | 195 | 162 | 174 | 177 |
| 1 | 281 | 390 | 473 | 524 | 645 | 716 | 872 | 1,026 | 1,144 | 1,204 | 1,216 | 1,124 | 1,282 | 1,403 | 1,306 | 1,246 | 1,220 |
| 2 | 505 | 834 | 931 | 1,023 | 1,165 | 1,457 | 1,662 | 1,863 | 2,061 | 2,163 | 2,214 | 2,340 | 2,517 | 2,586 | 2,540 | 2,259 | 2,052 |
| 3 | 636 | 1,094 | 1,258 | 1,466 | 1,712 | 2,019 | 2,285 | 2,585 | 2,701 | 2,916 | 3,144 | 3,144 | 3,263 | 3,493 | 3,364 | 2,944 | 2,776 |
| 4 | 867 | 1,406 | 1,639 | 1,950 | 2,152 | 2,794 | 3,063 | 3,411 | 3,610 | 3,669 | 3,940 | 4,264 | 4,420 | 4,425 | 4,257 | 3,913 | 3,628 |
| 5 | 909 | 1,389 | 1,688 | 2,022 | 2,403 | 2,797 | 3,277 | 3,525 | 3,779 | 4,064 | 4,245 | 4,469 | 4,873 | 4,766 | 4,687 | 4,206 | 4,018 |
| 6 | 918 | 1,430 | 1,586 | 1,926 | 2,237 | 2,731 | 3,216 | 3,558 | 3,583 | 3,847 | 4,227 | 4,487 | 4,809 | 4,811 | 4,538 | 4,101 | 3,914 |
| 7 | 916 | 1,479 | 1,468 | 1,718 | 2,146 | 2,674 | 3,096 | 3,259 | 3,565 | 3,630 | 3,855 | 4,206 | 4,545 | 4,593 | 4,424 | 3,979 | 3,690 |
| 8 | 945 | 1,352 | 1,474 | 1,524 | 1,900 | 2,356 | 2,839 | 2,919 | 3,032 | 3,270 | 3,497 | 3,735 | 4,090 | 4,327 | 4,236 | 3,780 | 3,432 |
| 9 | 918 | 1,251 | 1,271 | 1,466 | 1,664 | 2,129 | 2,435 | 2,741 | 2,782 | 2,921 | 3,231 | 3,413 | 3,670 | 4,071 | 3,750 | 3,663 | 3,258 |
| 10 | 892 | 1,224 | 1,230 | 1,364 | 1,484 | 1,911 | 2,165 | 2,456 | 2,492 | 2,640 | 2,824 | 3,023 | 3,262 | 3,625 | 3,590 | 3,346 | 3,204 |
| 11 | 805 | 1,206 | 1,249 | 1,230 | 1,332 | 1,707 | 1,830 | 2,163 | 2,229 | 2,328 | 2,549 | 2,692 | 2,998 | 3,154 | 3,291 | 3,092 | 2,904 |
| 12 | 894 | 1,051 | 1,082 | 1,193 | 1,260 | 1,554 | 1,733 | 1,886 | 1,967 | 2,070 | 2,191 | 2,302 | 2,597 | 2,912 | 2,852 | 2,823 | 2,690 |
| 13 | 766 | 1,092 | 1,067 | 1,050 | 1,277 | 1,538 | 1,718 | 1,751 | 1,726 | 1,904 | 1,953 | 2,120 | 2,324 | 2,550 | 2,583 | 2,476 | 2,445 |
| 14 | 735 | 1,083 | 1,005 | 1,075 | 1,137 | 1,458 | 1,541 | 1,589 | 1,619 | 1,701 | 1,764 | 1,807 | 2,091 | 2,328 | 2,339 | 2,364 | 2,196 |
| 15 | 649 | 933 | 920 | 994 | 1,093 | 1,269 | 1,465 | 1,500 | 1,484 | 1,542 | 1,535 | 1,660 | 1,818 | 2,051 | 1,976 | 1,960 | 2,076 |
| 16 | 700 | 959 | 837 | 949 | 1,039 | 1,206 | 1,390 | 1,450 | 1,396 | 1,390 | 1,353 | 1,481 | 1,675 | 1,725 | 1,883 | 1,837 | 1,826 |
| 17 | 674 | 892 | 837 | 872 | 998 | 1,228 | 1,333 | 1,362 | 1,320 | 1,290 | 1,253 | 1,295 | 1,519 | 1,604 | 1,682 | 1,687 | 1,618 |
| 18 | 631 | 821 | 902 | 804 | 884 | 1,131 | 1,398 | 1,286 | 1,216 | 1,254 | 1,233 | 1,232 | 1,397 | 1,470 | 1,469 | 1,527 | 1,511 |
| 19 | 641 | 796 | 795 | 828 | 916 | 1,097 | 1,171 | 1,275 | 1,215 | 1,175 | 1,184 | 1,216 | 1,259 | 1,365 | 1,346 | 1,355 | 1,382 |
| 20 | 624 | 749 | 761 | 781 | 874 | 1,116 | 1,091 | 1,177 | 1,152 | 1,118 | 1,050 | 1,107 | 1,228 | 1,360 | 1,186 | 1,258 | 1,293 |
| 21 | 598 | 731 | 687 | 737 | 793 | 971 | 1,066 | 1,062 | 1,154 | 1,128 | 1,080 | 1,028 | 1,201 | 1,219 | 1,133 | 1,107 | 1,110 |
| 22 | 642 | 713 | 700 | 720 | 744 | 936 | 1,038 | 1,010 | 961 | 1,014 | 1,121 | 1,020 | 1,093 | 1,145 | 1,045 | 1,020 | 1,022 |
| 23 | 642 | 730 | 641 | 646 | 732 | 912 | 938 | 991 | 973 | 902 | 966 | 998 | 1,027 | 995 | 997 | 982 | 909 |
| 24 | 546 | 692 | 650 | 636 | 753 | 841 | 863 | 963 | 892 | 913 | 875 | 896 | 986 | 966 | 892 | 886 | 822 |
| 25 | 485 | 543 | 594 | 621 | 696 | 725 | 798 | 887 | 881 | 848 | 799 | 830 | 927 | 876 | 846 | 887 | 844 |
| 26 + | 4,083 | 4,286 | 3,840 | 4,152 | 4,539 | 5,598 | 6,141 | 6,294 | 6,223 | 6,046 | 5,951 | 5,898 | 6,542 | 6,335 | 6,108 | 6,173 | 5,896 |
| Not Stated | 40 | 58 | 27 | 39 | 29 | 103 | 60 | 67 | 66 | 69 | 67 | 79 | 97 | 83 | 85 | 77 | 68 |
| Total | 21,993 | 29,242 | 29,687 | 32,394 | 36,703 | 45,079 | 50,613 | 54,209 | 55,371 | 57,155 | 59,474 | 62,018 | 67,673 | 70,433 | 68,567 | 65,172 | 61,981 |

**Source:** Statistics Canada, Health Division, Vital Statistics Section, unpublished data;
Statistics Canada, *Vital Statistics*, Catalogue 84-205, 1984, Table 18.

## Table A11. Deaths and Crude Death Rates (per 1,000), Canada, Provinces and Territories, 1981-1985

| Year | New-foundland | Prince Edward Island | Nova Scotia | New Brunswick | Quebec | Ontario | Manitoba | Saskatchewan | Alberta | British Columbia | Yukon | Northwest Territories | Canada |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Deaths | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1981 | 3,230 | 992 | 6,958 | 5,139 | 42,684 | 62,838 | 8,648 | 7,523 | 12,823 | 19,857 | 141 | 196 | 171,029 |
| 1982 | 3,385 | 980 | 6,941 | 5,197 | 43,497 | 63,696 | 8,490 | 8,202 | 12,968 | 20,707 | 118 | 232 | 174,413 |
| 1983 | 3,498 | 1,050 | 7,047 | 5,206 | 44,275 | 64,507 | 8,521 | 7,611 | 12,588 | 19,827 | 113 | 241 | 174,484 |
| 1984 | 3,520 | 1,109 | 6,913 | 5,272 | 44,449 | 64,703 | 8,290 | 7,710 | 12,730 | 20,686 | 108 | 237 | 175,727 |
| 1985 | 3,557 | 1,110 | 7,315 | 5,230 | 45,707 | 66,747 | 8,756 | 8,031 | 13,231 | 21,302 | 123 | 214 | 181,323 |
| Crude death rate | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1981 | 5.7 | 8.1 | 8.2 | 7.4 | 6.6 | 7.3 | 8.4 | 7.8 | 5.7 | 7.2 | 6.1 | 4.3 | 7.0 |
| 1982 | 5.9 | 8.0 | 8.1 | 7.4 | 6.7 | 7.3 | 8.2 | 8.4 | 5.6 | 7.4 | 5.0 | 4.9 | 7.1 |
| 1983 | 6.1 | 8.5 | 8.2 | 7.4 | 6.8 | 7.3 | 8.1 | 7.7 | 5.4 | 7.0 | 5.1 | 5.0 | 7.0 |
| 1984 | 6.1 | 8.9 | 7.9 | 7.4 | 6.8 | 7.2 | 7.8 | 7.7 | 5.4 | 7.2 | 5.0 | 4.8 | 7.0 |
| 1985 | 6.1 | 8.7 | 8.3 | 7.3 | 6.9 | 7.4 | 8.2 | 7.9 | 5.6 | 7.4 | 5.4 | 4.2 | 7.2 |

**Source:** Statistics Canada, *Vital Statistics, Births and Deaths*, Catalogue 84-204.

**Table A12. Life Expectancy 1931-1981 and Increase in Life Expectancy 1931-36 to 1976-81, Canada**

| Year | Life Expectancy | | Increase in Life Expectancy Over the Preceding 5 Years | |
|------|------|--------|------|--------|
|      | Male | Female | Male | Female |
| 1931 | 60.00 | 62.06 | –    | –    |
| 1936 | 61.34 | 63.66 | 1.34 | 1.60 |
| 1941 | 63.04 | 66.31 | 1.70 | 2.65 |
| 1946 | 65.06 | 68.62 | 2.02 | 2.31 |
| 1951 | 66.40 | 70.90 | 1.34 | 2.28 |
| 1956 | 67.68 | 72.95 | 1.28 | 2.05 |
| 1961 | 68.44 | 74.26 | 0.76 | 1.31 |
| 1966 | 68.73 | 75.25 | 0.29 | 0.99 |
| 1971 | 69.40 | 76.45 | 0.67 | 1.20 |
| 1976 | 70.26 | 77.70 | 0.86 | 1.25 |
| 1981 | 71.88 | 79.06 | 1.62 | 1.36 |

**Source:** Nagnur, D. (1986) *Longevity and Historical Life Tables, 1921-1981, Canada and the Provinces.* Table C1. Statistics Canada, Catalogue 89-506.

**Table A13. Infant Mortality Rate (per 1,000 Live Births),
Canada, 1931-1985**

| Year | Rate | Year | Rate |
|------|------|------|------|
| 1931 | 86.0 | 1959 | 28.4 |
| 1932 | 74.6 | 1960 | 27.3 |
| 1933 | 74.1 | 1961 | 27.2 |
| 1934 | 72.7 | 1962 | 27.6 |
| 1935 | 72.5 | 1963 | 26.3 |
| 1936 | 67.7 | 1964 | 24.7 |
| 1937 | 77.4 | 1965 | 23.6 |
| 1938 | 64.2 | 1966 | 23.1 |
| 1939 | 61.4 | 1967 | 22.0 |
| 1940 | 57.6 | 1968 | 20.8 |
| 1941 | 61.1 | 1969 | 19.3 |
| 1942 | 55.4 | 1970 | 18.8 |
| 1943 | 55.0 | 1971 | 17.5 |
| 1944 | 56.3 | 1972 | 17.1 |
| 1945 | 52.5 | 1973 | 15.5 |
| 1946 | 47.8 | 1974 | 15.0 |
| 1947 | 46.2 | 1975 | 14.3 |
| 1948 | 44.4 | 1976 | 13.5 |
| 1949 | 43.4 | 1977 | 12.4 |
| 1950 | 41.5 | 1978 | 12.0 |
| 1951 | 38.5 | 1979 | 10.9 |
| 1952 | 38.2 | 1980 | 10.4 |
| 1953 | 35.6 | 1981 | 9.6 |
| 1954 | 31.9 | 1982 | 9.1 |
| 1955 | 31.3 | 1983 | 8.5 |
| 1956 | 31.9 | 1984 | 8.1 |
| 1957 | 30.9 | 1985 | 7.9 |
| 1958 | 30.2 | | |

**Source:**Statistics Canada, Catalogues 84-204 and 84-206.

**Table A14. Distribution of Deaths by Major Causes, Canada, Provinces and Territories, 1983**

| Cause | Canada | New-foundland | Prince Edward Island | Nova Scotia | New Brunswick | Quebec | Ontario | Manitoba | Saskatchewan | Alberta | British Columbia | Yukon | Northwest Territories |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ischaemic Heart Disease | 47,949 (27%) | 994 | 316 | 1,904 | 1,508 | 11,387 | 19,396 | 2,341 | 1,904 | 3,000 | 5,163 | 20 | 16 |
| Cerebro-vascular Disease | 14,086 (8%) | 327 | 70 | 545 | 418 | 3,358 | 5,426 | 684 | 660 | 891 | 1,694 | 3 | 10 |
| Cancers | 43,282 (25%) | 806 | 252 | 1,715 | 1,163 | 11,543 | 16,132 | 2,107 | 1,735 | 2,808 | 4,951 | 24 | 46 |
| Traffic Accidents | 4,156 (2%) | 94 | 27 | 171 | 117 | 1,158 | 1,185 | 147 | 226 | 432 | 582 | 8 | 9 |
| Others | 65,011 (37%) | 1,277 | 385 | 2,712 | 2,000 | 16,829 | 22,368 | 3,242 | 3,086 | 5,457 | 7,137 | 58 | 160 |
| **TOTAL** | **174,484 (100%)** | **3,498** | **1,050** | **7,047** | **5,206** | **44,275** | **64,507** | **8,521** | **7,611** | **12,588** | **19,527** | **113** | **241** |

**Source:** Statistics Canada, *Vital Statistics, Causes of Death*, Catalogue 84-203.

**Table A15. Age-sex Distribution per 1,000 Immigrants to Canada, 1970, 1980, 1983, 1984, 1985**

| Age | 1970 Males | 1970 Females | 1980 Males | 1980 Females | 1983 Males | 1983 Females | 1984 Males | 1984 Females | 1985 Males | 1985 Females |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 0-4 | 43 | 40 | 35 | 32 | 24 | 24 | 25 | 23 | 25 | 24 |
| 5-9 | 39 | 37 | 43 | 38 | 30 | 29 | 31 | 30 | 32 | 29 |
| 10-14 | 26 | 25 | 42 | 37 | 34 | 34 | 34 | 32 | 36 | 33 |
| 15-19 | 33 | 40 | 57 | 49 | 46 | 47 | 44 | 43 | 44 | 43 |
| 20-24 | 106 | 124 | 74 | 75 | 67 | 86 | 65 | 84 | 66 | 78 |
| 25-29 | 105 | 87 | 72 | 66 | 70 | 77 | 72 | 80 | 76 | 78 |
| 30-34 | 60 | 46 | 50 | 46 | 50 | 49 | 51 | 54 | 54 | 54 |
| 35-39 | 34 | 25 | 29 | 25 | 29 | 30 | 30 | 33 | 34 | 35 |
| 40-44 | 19 | 16 | 19 | 17 | 18 | 20 | 18 | 21 | 20 | 22 |
| 45-49 | 10 | 11 | 13 | 17 | 13 | 18 | 13 | 18 | 15 | 19 |
| 50-54 | 6 | 9 | 15 | 23 | 14 | 23 | 13 | 23 | 13 | 20 |
| 55-59 | 6 | 10 | 17 | 24 | 18 | 30 | 17 | 28 | 16 | 24 |
| 60-64 | 6 | 10 | 16 | 18 | 21 | 26 | 21 | 25 | 18 | 23 |
| 65+ | 10 | 17 | 22 | 29 | 31 | 42 | 31 | 42 | 27 | 39 |
| Mean | 25.5 | 26.3 | 27.8 | 30.0 | 30.9 | 32.7 | 30.6 | 32.8 | 30.1 | 32.3 |

### Table A16. Total Fertility Rate, Canada, Provinces and Territories, 1978-1985

| Province | Year | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1978 | 1979 | 1980 | 1981 | 1982 | 1983 | 1984 | 1985 |
| Newfoundland | 2.18 | .. | 2.03 | 1.86 | 1.79 | .. | .. | .. |
| Prince Edward Island | 2.04 | 1.97 | 1.94 | 1.91 | 1.93 | 1.89 | 1.89 | 1.90 |
| Nova Scotia | 1.77 | 1.71 | 1.67 | 1.64 | 1.67 | 1.66 | 1.63 | 1.62 |
| New Brunswick | 1.78 | 1.76 | 1.68 | 1.71 | 1.70 | 1.69 | 1.65 | 1.60 |
| Quebec | 1.69 | 1.75 | 1.70 | 1.61 | 1.52 | 1.47 | 1.46 | 1.43 |
| Ontario | 1.68 | 1.67 | 1.66 | 1.63 | 1.65 | 1.66 | 1.69 | 1.68 |
| Manitoba | 1.91 | 1.88 | 1.84 | 1.86 | 1.84 | 1.87 | 1.86 | 1.88 |
| Saskatchewan | 2.20 | 2.19 | 2.14 | 2.14 | 2.17 | 2.13 | 2.11 | 2.09 |
| Alberta | 1.98 | 1.97 | 2.01 | 1.94 | 1.96 | 1.96 | 1.92 | 1.93 |
| British Columbia | 1.72 | 1.72 | 1.73 | 1.71 | 1.74 | 1.73 | 1.76 | 1.73 |
| Yukon | 2.03 | 2.19 | 2.09 | 2.14 | 2.04 | 2.36 | 2.25 | 1.97 |
| Northwest Territories | 3.04 | 3.30 | 3.37 | 3.00 | 3.00 | 3.20 | 2.99 | 2.86 |
| **Canada** | **1.76** | **1.76** | **1.75** | **1.70** | **1.69** | **1.68** | **1.69** | **1.67** |

.. : unavailable.
**Source:** Statistics Canada, *Vital Statistics,* Catalogue 84-204.

PART II

# CHILDBEARING PERFORMANCE OF MARRIED CANADIAN-BORN WOMEN

Nuptiality and fertility have always been closely related, the sanction of the first providing the basis for full realization of the potential in the second. Today, however, statistics show that because of the availability of contraceptives, and perhaps because of changes in attitude, the relationship is weakening. Out-of-wedlock births are increasing at the same time as the general fertility rate is declining – although the increase should not be exaggerated, for married couples still account for the vast majority of births. Moreover, since a large proportion of out-of-wedlock births are "redeemed" by late marriages which are often the legalization of common-law unions, fertility statistics relating only to married women are still, for all practical purposes, a good single measure of the reproductive performance of the population as a whole.

This section analyses the changes that have occurred in the number – and when possible the timing – of births to married women who were born in Canada[1]. All too often, published data on childbearing present only a snapshot for a single period of time – for instance, the number of births in a given year classified by marital status and age of mother. Yet, the events in every succeeding year can be very different, and we may wonder to what extent the data for a single period in time will be indicative of the completed fertility of each woman once her reproductive years are over. In other words, it is important to understand how the reproductive performance of married couples evolves from one generation to the next. The total fertility rate, which is one of the most frequently quoted measures of fertility, is a fickle measure. While certainly informative, it can easily be misinterpreted. For instance, most laymen, upon being told that the total fertility rate is currently less than 2 children per woman, might jump to the conclusion that couples are no longer replacing themselves. This may or may not be correct, but it cannot be ascertained without an analysis of cohort behaviour – that is to say an analysis of the fertility patterns of women who have completed their reproductive period and of variables indicating what the ultimate fertility levels of younger cohorts might be. In both the 1971 and 1981 Census questionnaires, married women were asked how many children they had ever borne. This information provides a reasonably precise reading of their fertility and can be used to compare the reproductive performances of homologous groups of women from different periods of time.

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[1] When age at immigration and period of immigration are taken into account, the fertility of foreign-born women has not been consistently similar to that of Canadian-born women. For this reason, this chapter deals only with the fertility experience of women who were born and currently reside in Canada, thereby allowing the reader to evaluate the impact of any eventual disparity in the total fertility experience attendant upon this strategy.

## Comparability of Data

Specifically, the two questions addressed to ever-married women[2] in both the 1971 and 1981 Censuses were: "How many children were ever borne to you?" and "What were the month and year of your first marriage?". The point to note is that the wording of these questions was the same in both censuses, but the responses were not processed in exactly the same way. This raised problems. Upon close examination[3] it was concluded that the two data series could be used for an analysis of the type proposed here, provided the deficiencies were taken into consideration. Crosstabulating the information on parity[4] against age at the time of the census and age at marriage yielded a wealth of information, which served as the basis for the analysis that follows.

## Fertility and Marriage

Even a fecund woman is infertile until she has borne her first child. Since natural sterility among young women is rare, and furthermore since fecundity during this period is high, the number, or proportion, of childless married women after a certain number of years of marriage can be attributed mostly to voluntary infertility. The changes that have occurred recently with respect to voluntary infertility are depicted in Chart 1, which shows the percentages of childless women after five years of marriage (1946 and 1956 birth cohorts) and ten years of marriage (1941 and 1951 birth cohorts)[5].

Clearly, no matter which cohort is examined, the proportion of married women who are childless at age 25 (or age 30) is related to the duration of marriage. A curve fits the data well, indicating that the younger the age at time of marriage, the greater the chances of having a first child within the first five (or ten) years of marriage.

It is also obvious that the more recent the cohort, the higher the level of childlessness for a given age at marriage, and for a given duration of marriage. In the two graphs, this is reflected in the fact that the curve for the younger cohort is consistently above the curve for the older cohort.

At the very least, it can be said that women in more recent cohorts seem less eager to have their first child than were their predecessors.

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[2] Includes divorced and widowed.

[3] For a detailed discussion of the related data see Appendix B.

[4] A woman's parity is the number of children she has borne or the number of deliveries she has had. For example, a woman who has borne two children is said to be "at parity two".

[5] The marriage durations are approximate. The Census provides the age and age at marriage of each respondent in complete years lived (age at last birthday), so that subtracting one figure from the other yields only the average length of time that the respondents have been married. Within the group married at age 19 and now aged 20, some have been married for only one day, while others have been married for two years less a day. As the durations become larger, the margin of error becomes proportionately smaller; the figures obtained by subtracting one age from the other have a greater probability of reflecting the true duration. Duration 0 – for example, women married at age 19 and still aged 19 – is excluded.

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Chart 1

## Proportion of Childless Women in Selected Generations After 5 and 10 Years of Marriage in Two Like Birth-Marriage Cohorts, Canada
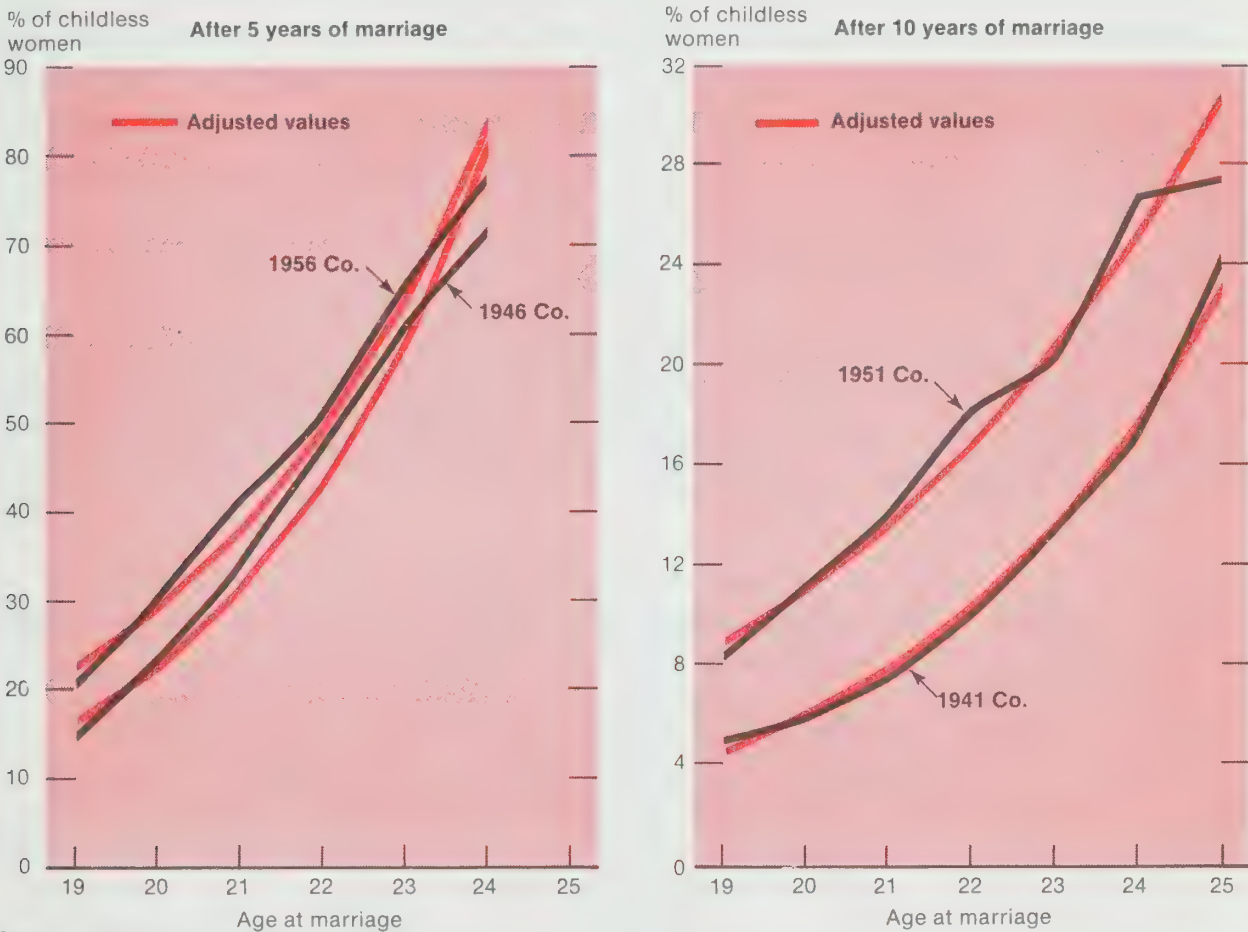


Source: Table B2.

## Completed Fertility and Age at Marriage

The fact that more recent cohorts are remaining childless longer than did their counterparts in the past provides no information about the total number of children that may in fact be borne to these cohorts by age 50. Where birth control is practiced, the interval between marriage and first birth is, in theory, not very strongly correlated with completed fertility; no longer at the mercy of nature, women can either have the child or children they want early[6] and then stop reproducing, or they can postpone childbearing until later, but still have a family that is reasonably large by current standards. Also, not all women decide, before the end of their reproductive period, that they will have no more children. As a result, individual histories intertwine to produce a statistical picture with subtle shadings. Nevertheless, the data on completed fertility

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[6] However, the information collected on births does not differentiate between first and subsequent marriages.

(Table 1) reveal that as a general rule, the earlier women marry, the more children they have. With remarkable consistency over time, the average completed fertility of women born in the same year and married at age 18 is roughly twice as high as that of women married at age 30. This is not a complete surprise: the earlier the age at marriage, the greater the exposure to the risk of pregnancy since fecundity decreases with age. Moreover, women who at an early age want (or at least are not opposed to) large families, usually marry young.

This information is important since the proportion of women who marry at a later age has been rising in recent years, as indicated by the increase in the current mean age at first marriage.[7]

These two observations give rise to an interesting question: since women who had married at the age of 30 in the mid-1960s (and were 40 in 1981) had almost replaced themselves, will the cohorts that are currently in their most fertile years replace themselves too?

**Table 1. Final or Completed Fertility of Married Women at Certain Ages at Marriage for Selected Cohorts, Canada**

| Cohort | Completed Fertility per 1,000 Married Women by Age at Marriage | | | | | All Ages at Marriage | Age of Women in 1981 |
| | 18 years | 21 years | 25 years | 27 years | 30 years | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1913 | 4,833 | 3,879 | 3,087 | 2,713 | 2,253 | 3,224 | 68 |
| 1916 | 4,480 | 3,731 | 3,009 | 2,575 | 2,151 | 3,237 | 65 |
| 1919 | 4,522 | 3,744 | 3,157 | 2,826 | 2,562 | 3,392 | 62 |
| 1922 | 4,436 | 3,921 | 3,143 | 2,878 | 2,472 | 3,563 | 59 |
| 1925 | 4,448 | 3,723 | 3,202 | 2,921 | 2,247 | 3,571 | 56 |
| 1928 | 4,607 | 3,765 | 3,167 | 2,730 | 2,337 | 3,614 | 53 |
| 1931 | 4,331 | 3,645 | 2,869 | 2,620 | 2,049 | 3,514 | 50 |
| 1934 | 4,183 | 3,436 | 2,798 | 2,489 | 1,944 | 3,438 | 47 |
| 1937 | 3,870 | 3,108 | 2,379 | 1,954 | 1,880 | 3,156 | 44 |
| 1940 | 3,441 | 2,704 | 2,083 | 1,926 | 1,601 | 2,833 | 41 |
| 1943 | 3,095 | 2,389 | 1,894 | 1,717 | 1,531 | 2,468 | 38 |

**Source:** Statistics Canada, 1981 Census of Canada.

[7] The completed fertility of a marriage cohort is a weighted average of the fertility levels by age at marriage, for which the weighting factors are the ratios of the number of women married at a particular age to the total number of married women in the cohort. The higher the proportion in a cohort of women who marry late, the lower will be the average fertility rate of the cohort.

## Cohort Fertility

Cohort fertility can be properly understood only within its historical perspective. The tables that follow in the text and Appendix B relate the fertility of women during the 1920s and 1930s to the economic and social context in which they lived. The mere fact that women, or rather couples, now have almost complete control over their fertility does not mean that the birth rate will be inexorably reduced until society dies out. Like couples of the past, though probably in different ways, every new generation of couples is subject to subtle pressures, currents of thought, needs and events that shape their reproductive considerations.

The analysis in this section is based on that population of female respondents who had reached, or had almost reached, the end of their reproductive period at the time of the 1981 Census, and who were born between 1904 and 1943. These women lived through three events, different in nature, that had a major impact on fertility: 1) the severe economic difficulties of the 1930s; 2) the prosperity of the postwar era; and 3) the increased use of contraceptives during the 1960s.

When one examines these cohorts within the context of these events, one discovers a correspondence between the events and the fertility of the cohorts likely to have been most affected by the events. This observed correspondence, it must be cautioned, should not be overstated: it requires careful interpretation.

For a long time, researchers have been looking for a theory that could explain variations in fertility, as well as fluctuations in fertility rates. None has succeeded. The underlying influences behind variations in fertility are obscure. They are probably diverse, vary according to circumstance, and sometimes work in combination with factors which are determinants under one set of circumstances, but have no effect under others. Also, one must take as facts those events that seem to have had an impact, but avoid the temptation of discovering ingenuously through them "laws" associating periods of prosperity or recession to a certain level of fertility.

Census data do not lend themselves very well to a reconstruction of the fertility profiles of past generations. The data provide only final balances in terms of the number of children born: other relevant characteristics are not disclosed.

The three events in question are represented in Table 2 by the single years that it was felt best capture the essence of each event. For example, 1933 was chosen because it was, although arguably, the harshest year of the Depression which started in 1929 and lasted until the outbreak of the war. Similarly, 1950 was chosen because it more or less approximates the blossoming of the era of prosperity that took hold after the war and persisted over a considerable number of years; and, 1968 was chosen because it was around this time that oral contraceptives, though known and used earlier, became widely publicized and commonly prescribed by the medical profession.

**Table 2. Correspondence Between the Age of Women Belonging to
Certain Cohorts (Married Between 18 and 24), Certain Dates and Their
Completed Fertility, Canada**

| Cohort | Age of Women in | | | | Completed Fertility per 1,000 Ever-married Women |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1933 | 1950 | 1968 | 1981 | |
| 1904 | 29 | 46 | | | 3,990 |
| 1907 | 26 | 43 | | | 3,859 |
| 1910 | 23 | 40 | | | 3,677 |
| 1913 | 20 | 37 | 55 | 68 | 3,650 |
| 1916 | 17 | 34 | 52 | 65 | 3,597 |
| 1919 | | 31 | 49 | 62 | 3,645 |
| 1922 | | 28 | 46 | 59 | 3,756 |
| 1925 | | 25 | 43 | 56 | 3,747 |
| 1928 | | 22 | 40 | 53 | 3,802 |
| 1931 | | 19 | 37 | 50 | 3,690 |
| 1934 | | 16 | 34 | 47 | 3,544 |
| 1937 | | | 31 | 44 | 3,238 |
| 1940 | | | 28 | 41 | 2,871 |
| 1943 | | | 25 | 38 | 2,485 |

1933 – period of economic crisis.
1950 – post-war period of prosperity.
1968 – coincides approximately with the introduction of widespread oral contraceptives.

To simplify matters, we have confined our analysis to the correlation between these events and the fertility of women who married between the ages of 18 and 24. For any generation, as previously shown, this is the age group that is the most prolific. Fluctuations in fertility in this one subgroup of the generation explain a good part of the fluctuations in fertility of the entire generation.

Those women born in 1904 had the highest fertility (almost four children per woman). They passed through their reproductive years at a time when contraceptives were difficult to obtain and less effective than they are today, and the social setting was, for the most part, favourable to large families. The Depression did not have an appreciable effect on the fertility of these women, because by then their prime childbearing years were behind them; furthermore, the Depression was, for all intents and purposes, quite brief, so that it was possible to "recoup" some births[8].

[8] As early as 1934, the economic climate experienced some improvement, as registered by certain indices (e.g. unemployment, marriage rate, etc.).

The women born between 1913 and 1916 were at the peak of their fertility during the Depression, and were still only 24 to 27 years old in 1940 when the Depression was superseded by the war. However, the prosperity that flowered in the 1950s had little impact on this generation since its members were then approaching age 40 (although it is a fact that some of them were in their 30s when they gave birth). The completed fertility for this generation was slightly lower than for the one born in 1904: just over 3.5 children per woman (if this level seems to be quite high it is because this analysis is restricted to women who married young).

By comparison with the above cohorts, women born between 1919 and 1928 encountered fewer obstacles to reproduction. They were still children when the Depression hit, but close to their peak fecundity during the prosperous 1950s. By the mid-1960s when contraceptives had become readily available, these women had already had fairly large families. The 1922 cohort, for instance, averaged 3.8 children per woman — a level only 5% lower than that of the 1904 cohort.

Women born in 1934, 1935 and subsequent years show a very sharp decline in fertility. As they were approaching peak fecundity the blossom of post-war prosperity had already begun to fade. At the same time, changing attitudes towards birth control enabled them to prevent the birth of more children than planned. Accordingly, for women marrying between the ages of 18 and 24, those born in 1943 will not average much more than 2.5 children per woman.

In short, then, it appears that: 1) "exogenous" or "environmental" factors may have an influence upon the number of children born — even to women with the highest likelihood of becoming mothers (i.e. 18-24 year age group), but this influence is moderate; 2) the low level of fertility among recent generations is solely responsible for the decline in fertility recorded by the annual indices. Considering the rate of the decline, the question can be asked:

## Will Recent Cohorts Replace Themselves?

Now let us consider whole generations and not just respective subgroups of women who married between the ages of 18 and 24. The completed fertility of a cohort cannot, of course, be known until its members have reached the age of 50. With rare exceptions age 50 marks the end of the reproductive period. Accordingly, the latest cohort for which completed fertility measures can be computed on the basis of 1981 Census data is for women born prior to 1932. Nevertheless, it was possible to determine which cohorts had already replaced themselves by giving birth to an average of two children per woman[9].

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9 This is an approximation. An exact measure involves the impact of mortality.

We see that women of the 1947 cohort – who were 34 years of age in 1981 – had already borne sufficient offspring (2.07 per woman) to replace themselves (Table 3). In respect of more recent cohorts, available data on cumulative fertility to 1981 allow only a speculative assessment as to whether these cohorts will attain replacement level fertility. Without resorting to sophisticated mathematics, we have reason to believe that the birth cohorts for 1948 to 1951 will probably do so; but the 1952 cohort may not. By 1981 this cohort had already averaged 1,589 children per 1,000 women: to achieve replacement level, these 1,000 women would have to bear approximately 400 more children. Is this likely to happen?

## Fertility and Birth Order

More precise estimates of fertility than the foregoing can be derived from parity progression ratios[10]. Stated one way, the parity progression ratio is the probability that the number of children born to a woman close to, or at, completed fertility, might have been greater by one child; stated another way, the parity progression ratio is the proportion of women with "n" children who go on to have one more.

When "n" equals zero, the ratio $a_0$ denotes the proportion of women who go on to have at least one child; $a_1$, the proportion of women who have had one child but go on to have at least a second one; $a_2$, the proportion who have had two but go on to have at least a third one; etc...

In calculating parity progression ratios, the data are arranged to show the distribution of women by the exact number of children they have borne, as well as the average number of births per woman. For instance, the figures below (from Table 6) show the childbearing history in 1981 for married women belonging to the 1952 birth cohort.

| 0 | children: | 198 | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | child: | 243 | yield | 243 children |
| 2 | children: | 385 | yield | 770 children |
| 3 | children: | 135 | yield | 405 children |
| 4 | children: | 30 | yield | 120 children |
| 5 | children: | 6 | yield | 30 children |
| 6 | children: | 2 | yield | 12 children |
| 7 + | children: | 1 | yield | 8 children |
| **Total** | | **1,000** | **yield** | **1,588 children** |

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[10] These ingenious relationships were first used by Louis Henry (France) and Norman Ryder (United States).

**Table 3. Completed Fertility by the Same Cohort After the 1971 and 1981 Censuses (Cohorts 1912 to 1953, All Ages at Marriage), Canada**

| Cohort | Age in 1971 | Number of Children per Woman | Age in 1981 | Number of Children per Woman | Difference | Difference (%) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1953 | 18 | 0.610 | 28 | 1.458 | 0.848 | 139.0 |
| 1952 | 19 | 0.629 | 29 | 1.589 | 0.960 | 152.6 |
| 1951 | 20 | 0.697 | 30 | 1.710 | 1.013 | 145.3 |
| 1950 | 21 | 0.756 | 31 | 1.831 | 1.075 | 142.2 |
| 1949 | 22 | 0.835 | 32 | 1.913 | 1.078 | 129.1 |
| 1948 | 23 | 0.958 | 33 | 1.993 | 1.035 | 108.0 |
| 1947 | 24 | 1.110 | 34 | 2.073 | 0.963 | 86.8 |
| 1946 | 25 | 1.337 | 35 | 2.161 | 0.824 | 61.6 |
| 1945 | 26 | 1.560 | 36 | 2.279 | 0.719 | 46.1 |
| 1944 | 27 | 1.730 | 37 | 2.351 | 0.621 | 35.9 |
| 1943 | 28 | 1.961 | 38 | 2.468 | 0.507 | 25.9 |
| 1942 | 29 | 2.159 | 39 | 2.567 | 0.408 | 18.9 |
| 1941 | 30 | 2.413 | 40 | 2.701 | 0.288 | 11.9 |
| 1940 | 31 | 2.573 | 41 | 2.833 | 0.260 | 10.1 |
| 1939 | 32 | 2.760 | 42 | 2.951 | 0.191 | 6.9 |
| 1938 | 33 | 2.887 | 43 | 3.030 | 0.143 | 5.0 |
| 1937 | 34 | 3.022 | 44 | 3.156 | 0.134 | 4.4 |
| 1936 | 35 | 3.139 | 45 | 3.236 | 0.097 | 3.1 |
| 1935 | 36 | 3.213 | 46 | 3.313 | 0.100 | 3.1 |
| 1934 | 37 | 3.329 | 47 | 3.438 | 0.109 | 3.3 |
| 1933 | 38 | 3.400 | 48 | 3.473 | 0.073 | 2.1 |
| 1932 | 39 | 3.408 | 49 | 3.515 | 0.107 | 3.1 |
| 1931 | 40 | 3.472 | 50 | 3.514 | 0.042 | 1.2 |
| 1930 | 41 | 3.513 | 51 | 3.529 | 0.016 | 0.5 |
| 1929 | 42 | 3.541 | 52 | 3.594 | 0.053 | 1.5 |
| 1928 | 43 | 3.539 | 53 | 3.614 | 0.075 | 2.1 |
| 1927 | 44 | 3.510 | 54 | 3.589 | 0.079 | 2.3 |
| 1926 | 45 | 3.540 | 55 | 3.543 | 0.003 | 0.1 |
| 1925 | 46 | 3.524 | 56 | 3.571 | 0.047 | 1.3 |
| 1924 | 47 | 3.487 | 57 | 3.551 | 0.064 | 1.8 |
| 1923 | 48 | 3.448 | 58 | 3.503 | 0.055 | 1.6 |
| 1922 | 49 | 3.450 | 59 | 3.563 | 0.113 | 3.3 |
| 1921 | 50 | 3.382 | 60 | 3.456 | 0.074 | 2.2 |
| 1920 | 51 | 3.357 | 61 | 3.420 | 0.063 | 1.9 |
| 1919 | 52 | 3.329 | 62 | 3.392 | 0.063 | 1.9 |
| 1918 | 53 | 3.284 | 63 | 3.348 | 0.064 | 1.9 |
| 1917 | 54 | 3.207 | 64 | 3.285 | 0.078 | 2.4 |
| 1916 | 55 | 3.163 | 65 | 3.237 | 0.074 | 2.3 |
| 1915 | 56 | 3.132 | 66 | 3.224 | 0.092 | 2.9 |
| 1914 | 57 | 3.131 | 67 | 3.138 | 0.007 | 0.2 |
| 1913 | 58 | 3.113 | 68 | 3.224 | 0.111 | 3.6 |

**Source:** From 1981 Census data.

These women were still fecund in 1981: at least theoretically the 1952 birth cohort should still have about ten years of fertility left in 1981. The objective, then, is to estimate the distribution according to parity at completed fertility and to calculate how many children the members of the cohort will have borne.

The only plausible means of accomplishing this is by extrapolating the trend of parity ratios from cohorts of women who have already attained completed fertility, or have already passed through the most prolific phases of it. Obviously, there is no full guarantee that these estimates will be accurate.

Considering that few women have a first child after 35, the trend observed for the cohorts from 1932 to 1946 provides the basis for estimating the expected $a_0$ for the 1952 generation. The estimate of $a_1$ for the 1952 generation is based on observation of the 1932 to 1945 cohorts; the estimate of $a_2$ on cohorts from 1932 to only 1944; and so on. Thus the values of a series that could still undergo considerable change are excluded. This was the method used for calculating the parity ratios as they appear in the bottom line of Table 5, and from them the distribution of women in the 1952 birth cohort by the number of children they will have borne at completed fertility.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 0 | children: | 103 | | | |
| 1 | child: | 148 | yield | 148 | children |
| 2 | children: | 405 | yield | 808 | children |
| 3 | children: | 251 | yield | 753 | children |
| 4 | children: | 71 | yield | 284 | children |
| 5 | children: | 16 | yield | 80 | children |
| 6 | children: | 5 | yield | 30 | children |
| 7 + | children: | 1 | yield | 8 | children |
| **Total** | | **1,000** | **yield** | **2,111** | **children** |

Comparing this projected distribution at completed fertility to the distribution as it actually appeared in 1981 shows that 95 women belonging to the 1952 birth cohort, who were childless in 1981, would have a child; and 95 who had one child in 1981 would have at least one more. Similarly, the number of parity-two women is expected to increase by 19; parity-three women by 116; and parity-four women by 41. Viewed from a 1984 standpoint, these last two increases seem to have little chance of occurring, although this is what would have to happen if the generation is to be replaced.

Census statistics for 1971 and 1981 (Table 4) show that when they were between the ages of 29 and 39, married women born in 1942 increased their progeny by 400 children, or 19%, from the number of children (2,153) already born by 1971. If one assumes a similar outcome for the 29-39 age group in the 1952 cohort (i.e. a 20% increase over the 1,588 children already born) this would result in only 1,905 births, short of replacement level for the generation.

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**Table 4. Changes in the Parity Distribution per 1,000 Women in the 10-Year Period Framed by the 1971 and 1981 Censuses**

| | | Parity | | | | | | | | | | Number of Children |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9+ | |
| C.1942 | in 1971 | 131 | 176 | 336 | 210 | 89 | 36 | 13 | 5 | 2 | 1 | 2,153 |
| | in 1981 | 78 | 112 | 343 | 255 | 124 | 49 | 22 | 9 | 4 | 2 | 2,551 |
| Change | | -53 | -64 | 7 | 45 | 35 | 13 | 9 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 398 |

## Discussion

A cohort analysis of fertility for Canadian-born women reveals three features: first, women are remaining childless for longer and longer periods of time; second, from one generation to the next, the proportion of women who marry late increases; and, third, the longer that marriage is deferred, the lower is the completed fertility. As for the average number of children born per woman, this has fluctuated over time, in part because of "environmental" circumstances that were favourable or unfavourable to fertility, or because of technological innovations with respect to either partial or virtually total control over childbirth. If it is true that until now the effect of birth control has been to reduce population growth, there is nothing to support the view that this is the only effect that it will have in the future. Although tenuous, there are signs of a reappraisal among "three-parity" (and higher) women which may foreshadow a rise in the total fertility of young cohorts[11]. An infatuation with maternity cannot be totally discounted, but if the available statistics are taken into account, the married women of the 1952 generation (that is to say, women aged 32 in 1984) are barely replacing themselves.

The analysis thus far has dwelt upon married women only. If unmarried women (who make up a certain proportion of each cohort) have fewer children than married women, the evidence is stronger yet that overall current generations will not replace themselves: nor - taking into account the tendency of today's generation to postpone childbearing - will those that follow. Dumas and Boyer[12] show that the fertility of married women is slightly higher than that of married women and women living in common-law unions taken together, and even higher than that of single women living alone. As only Canadian-born women were considered, it would be necessary to impute an unreasonably high fertility to the relevant foreign-born cohorts in order to markedly change the picture.

[11] See first part of the report.
[12] *Cahiers québécois de démographie,* Vol. 13:2, Table 7.

## Table 5. Parity Progression Ratios for Cohorts of Married Women Born in Canada

| Cohort | Age in 1981 | $a_0$ | $a_1$ | $a_2$ | $a_3$ | $a_4$ | $a_5$ | $a_6$ | $a_7$ | $a_8$ | $a_{9+}$ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1924 | 57 | .908 | .894 | .751 | .681 | .659 | .658 | .660 | .678 | .660 | .692 |
| 1925 | 56 | .909 | .898 | .760 | .678 | .644 | .661 | .667 | .673 | .683 | .669 |
| 1926 | 55 | .916 | .896 | .757 | .685 | .634 | .641 | .647 | .658 | .648 | .647 |
| 1927 | 54 | .916 | .904 | .765 | .690 | .644 | .633 | .643 | .649 | .638 | .637 |
| 1928 | 53 | .919 | .905 | .768 | .690 | .636 | .638 | .633 | .650 | .684 | .636 |
| 1929 | 52 | .920 | .910 | .771 | .682 | .631 | .626 | .631 | .643 | .641 | .651 |
| 1930 | 51 | .923 | .911 | .765 | .668 | .612 | .612 | .628 | .638 | .626 | .628 |
| 1931 | 50 | .926 | .914 | .759 | .667 | .614 | .609 | .614 | .622 | .601 | .622 |
| 1932 | 49 | .931 | .915 | .765 | .665 | .598 | .593 | .596 | .618 | .627 | .591 |
| 1933 | 48 | .932 | .913 | .763 | .665 | .594 | .578 | .574 | .583 | .613 | .558 |
| 1934 | 47 | .934 | .915 | .758 | .647 | .578 | .577 | .578 | .598 | .613 | .594 |
| 1935 | 46 | .929 | .912 | .747 | .630 | .552 | .569 | .553 | .573 | .574 | .570 |
| 1936 | 45 | .934 | .907 | .732 | .615 | .544 | .546 | .537 | .552 | .541 | .511 |
| 1937 | 44 | .930 | .911 | .719 | .600 | .532 | .512 | .495 | .545 | .575 | .582 |
| 1938 | 43 | .933 | .904 | .693 | .571 | .501 | .495 | .506 | .528 | .497 | .534 |
| 1939 | 42 | .928 | .901 | .679 | .543 | .500 | .497 | .503 | .536 | .538 | .447 |
| 1940 | 41 | .930 | .898 | .650 | .512 | .462 | .482 | .481 | .521 | .428 | .471 |
| 1941 | 40 | .927 | .884 | .619 | .484 | .431 | .463 | .475 | .484 | .509 | .509 |
| 1942 | 39 | .922 | .878 | .576 | .453 | .412 | .442 | .433 | .451 | .458 | .557 |
| 1943 | 38 | .918 | .871 | .545 | .427 | .389 | .417 | .424 | .509 | .493 | .507 |
| 1944 | 37 | .912 | .859 | .513 | .385 | .372 | .405 | .426 | .475 | .486 | .510 |
| 1945 | 36 | .907 | .851 | .488 | .363 | .361 | .414 | .410 | .455 | .388 | .515 |
| 1946 | 35 | .899 | .838 | .445 | .331 | .324 | .425 | .429 | .419 | .462 | .433 |
| 1947 | 34 | .892 | .820 | .424 | .312 | .288 | .347 | .373 | .406 | .341 | .429 |
| 1948 | 33 | .881 | .808 | .394 | .283 | .257 | .294 | .518 | .353 | .400 | .583 |
| 1949 | 32 | .870 | .788 | .379 | .265 | .279 | .345 | .322 | .379 | .636 | .429 |
| 1950 | 31 | .856 | .764 | .358 | .259 | .269 | .358 | .386 | .377 | .652 | .265 |
| 1951 | 30 | .834 | .735 | .327 | .231 | .250 | .305 | .289 | .429 | .417 | .800 |
| 1952 | 29 | .802 | .697 | .312 | .226 | .234 | .347 | .333 | .414 | .250 | .667 |
| 1952 | Projected | .897 | .835 | .461 | .273 | .249 | .297 | .329 | .357 | .498 | .337 |

Source: Fertility data from the 1981 Census.

## Table 6. Distribution of Number of Children Born per 1,000 Married Women for Selected Cohorts, 1981

| Cohort | Number of Children Born | | | | | | | | | | | Number of Children per 1000 Women[1] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | |
| 1924 | 92 | 96 | 202 | 195 | 142 | 93 | 61 | 38 | 27 | 16 | 38 | 3,551 |
| 1925 | 91 | 93 | 196 | 200 | 150 | 92 | 60 | 89 | 26 | 18 | 35 | 3,571 |
| 1926 | 84 | 95 | 199 | 196 | 156 | 97 | 61 | 38 | 26 | 17 | 31 | 3,543 |
| 1927 | 84 | 88 | 194 | 196 | 156 | 103 | 64 | 40 | 27 | 17 | 31 | 3,589 |
| 1928 | 81 | 87 | 193 | 198 | 160 | 101 | 66 | 40 | 23 | 18 | 33 | 3,614 |
| 1929 | 80 | 83 | 192 | 205 | 162 | 104 | 64 | 39 | 25 | 16 | 30 | 3,594 |
| 1930 | 77 | 82 | 198 | 214 | 167 | 102 | 60 | 37 | 24 | 15 | 24 | 3,529 |
| 1931 | 74 | 80 | 204 | 214 | 165 | 103 | 62 | 37 | 24 | 14 | 23 | 3,514 |
| 1932 | 69 | 79 | 200 | 218 | 174 | 106 | 62 | 35 | 21 | 15 | 21 | 3,515 |
| 1933 | 68 | 81 | 202 | 217 | 175 | 108 | 63 | 36 | 19 | 13 | 18 | 3,473 |
| 1934 | 66 | 79 | 207 | 229 | 177 | 102 | 59 | 33 | 19 | 12 | 17 | 3,438 |
| 1935 | 71 | 82 | 214 | 234 | 179 | 95 | 56 | 30 | 17 | 10 | 12 | 3,313 |
| 1936 | 66 | 86 | 227 | 239 | 174 | 94 | 52 | 27 | 15 | 9 | 11 | 3,236 |
| 1937 | 70 | 83 | 238 | 244 | 171 | 95 | 50 | 22 | 11 | 6 | 10 | 3,156 |
| 1938 | 67 | 90 | 259 | 250 | 167 | 84 | 41 | 20 | 11 | 5 | 6 | 3,030 |
| 1939 | 72 | 92 | 268 | 260 | 154 | 78 | 38 | 18 | 10 | 6 | 4 | 2,951 |
| 1940 | 70 | 94 | 293 | 265 | 149 | 66 | 32 | 14 | 9 | 4 | 4 | 2,833 |
| 1941 | 73 | 107 | 312 | 262 | 140 | 57 | 26 | 12 | 6 | 3 | 2 | 2,701 |
| 1942 | 78 | 112 | 343 | 255 | 124 | 49 | 22 | 9 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 2,567 |
| 1943 | 82 | 119 | 364 | 250 | 113 | 42 | 17 | 6 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 2,468 |
| 1944 | 88 | 129 | 381 | 247 | 97 | 34 | 13 | 5 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 2,351 |
| 1945 | 93 | 135 | 395 | 240 | 88 | 29 | 12 | 5 | 2 | 1 | – | 2,279 |
| 1946 | 101 | 146 | 418 | 224 | 75 | 21 | 9 | 4 | 1 | 1 | – | 2,161 |
| 1947 | 108 | 161 | 421 | 213 | 69 | 18 | 6 | 2 | 1 | – | – | 2,073 |
| 1948 | 119 | 169 | 432 | 201 | 59 | 14 | 3 | 2 | 1 | – | – | 1,993 |
| 1949 | 130 | 185 | 426 | 191 | 50 | 13 | 4 | 1 | – | – | – | 1,913 |
| 1950 | 144 | 202 | 420 | 173 | 44 | 10 | 4 | 1 | – | – | – | 1,831 |
| 1951 | 166 | 221 | 412 | 154 | 35 | 8 | 3 | 1 | – | – | – | 1,710 |
| 1952 | 198 | 243 | 395 | 135 | 30 | 6 | 2 | 1 | – | – | – | 1,589 |

[1] The figures may differ considerably from those that appear in another publication on the subject of fertility, "Fertility in Canada from Baby-boom to Baby-bust", because they relate to married women born in Canada, and the information does not come from the same source: Census in this case and Vital Statistics in the other.

**Source:** 1981 Census of Canada – unpublished data.

## Conclusion

The overall fertility rate today is appreciably below the replacement threshold of 2.1 children per woman. Examination of the most fertile subgroups portion of recent cohorts of ever-married Canadian-born women shows that more recent cohorts will not replace themselves. It should be noted, nonetheless, that the reproductive level of the cohorts concerned is somewhat higher than what one might expect if one's assessment is based on only the annual total fertility rate. Possibly this too will decline with time; but it is noteworthy that women of recent cohorts devote to childbearing only a small fraction of the time during which they are fecund. Some unforeseen (but possible) changes in aspirations regarding maternity could modify the quantity and tempo of child-bearing in the future.

Appendix  B

## Weaknesses in the Data

In 1971, persons in common-law relationships were not in the universe of the census data base; in 1981, they were considered married. Thus, in 1981, an unmarried woman living in a common-law relationship who had borne a child – to be counted as married according to the questionnaire instructions – was asked to report the starting date of her current union as if it were her date of marriage. Few women complied with these requests, and where no date was given, none was imputed during processing. This problem, however, accounts for only a small part of the differences (as we shall see later) between 1971 and 1981 cohort sizes (Table B1).

Aside from the aforementioned problem of common-law unions, in the 1981 Census no marriage date was imputed for married respondents who failed to report the date of their first marriage, whereas in 1971, Statistics Canada did assign a marriage date to such respondents. Nor was age at marriage calculated in the same manner in the two censuses[13]. These differences have a significant impact on the distribution of women by age at marriage, although for the measures used in this study, the effect was minimal. Lastly, to prevent any distortion by immigrants' fertility patterns, the analysis was confined to women born in Canada.

Given the foregoing constraints, and those of a different nature to be described below, we nevertheless selected groups of women on the basis of age and age at marriage to form very specific birth-marriage cohorts to be examined over a ten-year interval. For the following reasons, their numbers in 1971 and 1981 may not be the same:

1) some 1971 respondents died or migrated by 1981;

2) some respondents born in Canada were present in 1981, but out of the country in 1971 (1971 figure < 1981 figure);

3) age at marriage was calculated in a different manner in the two censuses;

4) the inflation of the sample (1/3 in 1971, 1/5 in 1981) may have produced different numbers for the same group of persons.

A further consideration is that all censuses differ due to undercoverage, and such undercoverage varies by age, with more young people escaping enumeration than older people. Consequently, the completeness of the coverage of the same birth-marriage cohorts at a ten-year interval will be different on each occasion (1971 figure < 1981 figure).

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[13] In both cases, age at marriage was not supplied by the respondent, but was obtained by subtracting the date of birth from the date of marriage. However, in 1971 only the years were subtracted, whereas in 1981 the months were also taken into account. For full details, see Norland, Joseph, "A Statement on Comparability of Census Data on Age at First Marriage 1961, 1971, 1981", Demography Division, unpublished internal document, 1983.

Table B1. Number of Ever-married Women, Married at Age 21, Canada, 1971 and 1981

| Age in 1971 | Number | Age in 1981 | Number | Difference |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 22 | 14,525 | 32 | 19,970 | 5,445 |
| 23 | 19,455 | 33 | 20,345 | 890 |
| 24 | 20,905 | 34 | 20,180 | − 725 |
| 25 | 16,455 | 35 | 17,070 | 615 |
| 26 | 15,870 | 36 | 15,835 | − 35 |
| 27 | 14,605 | 37 | 14,730 | 125 |
| 28 | 14,145 | 38 | 13,810 | − 335 |
| 29 | 12,560 | 39 | 12,680 | 120 |
| 30 | 11,825 | 40 | 12,150 | 325 |
| 31 | 10,950 | 41 | 10,780 | − 170 |
| 32 | 10,540 | 42 | 11,145 | 605 |
| 33 | 10,270 | 43 | 11,135 | 865 |
| 34 | 10,390 | 44 | 10,170 | − 220 |
| 35 | 10,580 | 45 | 10,800 | 220 |
| 36 | 10,505 | 46 | 10,770 | 265 |
| 37 | 10,260 | 47 | 10,180 | − 80 |
| 38 | 10,890 | 48 | 11,065 | 175 |
| 39 | 10,655 | 49 | 10,660 | 5 |
| 40 | 10,390 | 50 | 10,335 | − 55 |
| 41 | 10,345 | 51 | 10,860 | 515 |
| 42 | 10,080 | 52 | 9,750 | − 330 |
| 43 | 9,760 | 53 | 9,680 | − 80 |
| 44 | 10,195 | 54 | 9,485 | − 710 |
| 45 | 10,445 | 55 | 9,845 | − 600 |
| 46 | 10,580 | 56 | 10,585 | 5 |
| 47 | 9,460 | 57 | 8,945 | − 515 |
| 48 | 8,610 | 58 | 7,935 | − 675 |
| 49 | 8,930 | 59 | 8,410 | − 520 |
| 50 | 9,240 | 60 | 9,205 | − 35 |
| 51 | 8,700 | 61 | 8,610 | − 90 |
| 52 | 7,760 | 62 | 8,565 | 805 |
| 53 | 7,570 | 63 | 6,395 | − 1,175 |
| 54 | 6,865 | 64 | 6,095 | − 770 |
| 55 | 5,830 | 65 | 5,515 | − 315 |
| 56 | 6,280 | 66 | 5,585 | − 695 |
| 57 | 5,705 | 67 | 5,325 | − 380 |
| 58 | 5,130 | 68 | 4,350 | − 780 |

Source: 1981 Census of Canada.

Finally, persons living in senior citizens' residences were not enumerated in 1981, whereas they had been ten years earlier. Women who were living in such residences in 1971 simply appear to have vanished in 1981 (1971 figure > 1981 figure).

In any case, since the comparisons relate to the number of children born per 1,000 women, it will be assumed that women who were either absent or supernumerary in the second census exhibited the same behaviour as those present in both.

**Table B2. Percentage of Childless Women After Five and Ten Years of Marriage in Two Sets of Two Like Birth-Marriage Cohorts, Canada**
(figures used for graph No. 1)

| Year of Birth | | Age at Marriage | | | | | | | $R^2$ (Semilogarith-mic Fit) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | 19 | 20 | 21 | 22 | 23 | 24 | 25 | |
| After Five Years of Marriage | | | | | | | | | |
| 1946 | Observed Value | 14.5 | 23.3 | 33.3 | 47.7 | 61.0 | 71.4 | | .972 |
| | Fitted Value | 16.4 | 22.6 | 31.1 | 42.8 | 59.0 | 81.2 | | |
| 1956 | Observed Value | 20.5 | 30.0 | 41.2 | 50.4 | 65.6 | 77.2 | | .982 |
| | Fitted Value | 22.4 | 29.1 | 37.8 | 49.3 | 63.9 | 83.1 | | |
| After Ten Years of Marriage | | | | | | | | | |
| 1941 | Observed Value | 4.8 | 5.8 | 7.5 | 10.0 | 13.4 | 17.0 | 24.2 | .995 |
| | Fitted Value | 4.5 | 5.9 | 7.8 | 10.2 | 13.4 | 17.5 | 23.0 | |
| 1951 | Observed Value | 8.2 | 11.2 | 13.9 | 18.3 | 20.0 | 26.8 | 27.5 | .970 |
| | Fitted Value | 8.9 | 11.0 | 13.5 | 16.7 | 20.4 | 25.0 | 30.7 | |

**Source:** Statistics Canada, 1981 Census, unpublished data.

# THE FERTILITY OF SINGLE WOMEN

## The Problem and the Data

The term "illegitimate fertility", now considered anachronistic, has been superseded by the more neutral term "out-of-wedlock fertility". Out-of-wedlock fertility remains, nevertheless, a useful indicator of social mores, and, as such, continues to be of interest to social scientists and policy-makers alike. Since out-of-wedlock fertility relates primarily to single women, it is their fertility that will be studied here[1].

The time series of fertility rates for single women, published by Vital Statistics, is subject to a number of limitations. These limitations require some discussion before an analysis of the series can be attempted.

1) It should be pointed out that Vital Statistics cannot provide a continuous picture of the fertility of single women over the past ten years. Because of incomplete registration in at least two provinces (Alberta and Quebec), there were a substantial number of births in 1974, 1975 and 1976 for which the mother's marital status is unknown. Thus, only a short time series, beginning with 1977, is available.

2) Aside from the above unusual years, in any year there are invariably a number of birth registrations on which this information is not recorded. These births cannot be allocated to any other marital status classes without implicitly making unjustifiable assumptions. For this reason, and because of their small numbers since 1977, it is preferable to ignore them, even if the result is a slight understatement of the number of births to single mothers.

3) While inaccurate birth registrations have an impact on the numerator in the rate calculation, the denominator, which consists of the population at risk, is no less flawed. A significant source of error is the greater census undercoverage of single women than of the rest of the female population, particularly at the ages of highest fertility. For example, the 1981 Census undercoverage rate for single women aged 15 and over stood at 3.8%, as against 1.65% for females of all marital statuses and ages. This results in an exaggerated rate, since the denominator is too small.

4) A much more serious bias is introduced into the rates by the difference between the Census and Vital Statistics definitions in classifying the population by marital status. Birth registration data from Vital Statistics identify the mother's legal marital status, whereas the Census classifies women who are not widowed or divorced on the basis of whether they are living with a partner, irrespective of the legal or common-law status of the arrangement. Hence, women who are legally single but living

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[1] Births to widows and divorced women, which are infrequent and therefore less important as a social phenomenon, are disregarded here, but are reported in Vital Statistics.

with a partner are classified in the Census as "married"[2]. It therefore follows that the younger the age group, the greater the probability of the single female population being understated. This discrepancy between the numerator and denominator tends to exaggerate the fertility of single women still further[3].

For these reasons, published data and rates must be interpreted with caution.

## Most Single Mothers are Young, But the Number of Older Ones is Growing

Births to single women are on the rise in Canada, but not at the same rate in all age groups (Table 1). Up to 1980, teenagers (age 15 to 19) accounted for the largest share (41%). In 1981, however, this group contributed only 38%, the same percentage as that of the young adult group (20-24). This pattern persisted into 1984, with downward movement for the 15-19 age group, and upward movement for the 20-24 age group. For the 1977-1984 period as a whole, births to single women 25 years of age and over climbed from 17% to 30%. It would seem, then, that the number of adult single mothers is increasing. Should the conclusion be drawn that the fertility of single women has risen?

The changes between 1977 and 1984 in the age structure of the population are not unrelated to the phenomenon just described. Because of previous fluctuations in the number of births for one thing, but chiefly because of increasing age at first marriage, there has been a change in both the number of single women in each age group, and in the relative proportion of each age group in the total population (Table 2).

Between 1977 and 1984, the number of young single women (15-19) fell by 99,400, but increases of 202,200 and 95,900 were recorded for the 20-24 and 25-29 age groups, respectively. As a result, the proportionate share of adolescents in the under 30 group declined to 50% from 61%, while that of young adults (20-29) increased from 39% to 50%. These changes can have an impact on the number of births, but they do not suffice as an explanation for the changes in fertility rates, which have shown a much stronger progression in the adult age groups than in the adolescent age group. Whereas since 1977 the fertility rate for adolescents has increased by less than one per thousand, that for young adults has increased by nine per thousand, and that for adults over 25, much more (Table 1).

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[2] In 1981, if they did not report themselves as such, the Edit and Imputation Unit assigned them to the "married" class.

[3] For a more detailed discussion, see Dumas, Jean and Louise Boyer, "Mise au point sur la fécondité des célibataires", *Cahiers québécois de démographie,* vol. 13, no. 2.

**Table 1. Births and Fertility Rates of Unmarried Women by Age of Mother, Canada, 1977-1984**

| Year | < 15 | 15-19 | 20-24 | 25-29 | 30-34 | 35-39 | 40 + | Total |
|------|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|------|-------|
| | | | | Number | | | | |
| 1977 | 296 | 16,800 | 11,645 | 4,008 | 1,365 | 367 | 69 | 34,634 |
| 1978 | 308 | 16,806 | 12,610 | 4,336 | 1,536 | 426 | 83 | 36,749 |
| 1979 | 297 | 16,671 | 14,059 | 5,259 | 1,812 | 442 | 77 | 38,633 |
| 1980 | 260 | 17,188 | 15,770 | 6,035 | 2,119 | 478 | 84 | 41,955 |
| 1981 | 262 | 17,217 | 17,699 | 7,124 | 2,557 | 613 | 96 | 45,585 |
| 1982 | 262 | 17,880 | 20,038 | 8,425 | 3,027 | 801 | 93 | 50,608 |
| 1983 | 215 | 16,516 | 21,531 | 9,933 | 3,639 | 936 | 120 | 52,929 |
| 1984 | 244 | 16,065 | 22,822 | 11,167 | 4,207 | 1,108 | 147 | 55,794 |
| | | | | Rate | | | | |
| 1977 | 1.3 | 15.8 | 22.9 | 23.4 | 16.8 | 7.8 | 1.7 | 17.9[1] |
| 1978 | 1.3 | 15.6 | 23.7 | 23.9 | 17.5 | 8.5 | 2.0 | 18.2 |
| 1979 | 1.3 | 15.5 | 25.5 | 27.3 | 19.3 | 8.4 | 1.8 | 18.9 |
| 1980 | 1.3 | 16.0 | 27.5 | 29.2 | 21.2 | 8.6 | 2.1 | 20.0 |
| 1981 | 1.4 | 16.3 | 29.6 | 32.6 | 24.0 | 10.4 | 2.3 | 21.1 |
| 1982 | 1.4 | 17.2 | 31.8 | 36.4 | 27.2 | 12.4 | 2.2 | 22.7 |
| 1983 | 1.2 | 16.4 | 32.0 | 40.6 | 31.3 | 13.6 | 2.7 | 24.1 |
| 1984 | 1.3 | 16.5 | 31.7 | 43.1 | 34.5 | 15.1 | 3.2 | 25.3 |
| Increase 1977-1984 | 0.0 | 0.7 | 8.8 | 19.7 | 17.7 | 7.3 | 1.5 | 7.4 |
| Increase in % | 0.0 | 4.4 | 38.4 | 84.2 | 105.4 | 93.6 | 88.2 | 41.3 |

[1] Standardized Population of Canada in 1976.
**Source:** Statistics Canada, Catalogue 84-204.

Little of this change in fertility (Table 2) can be explained by structural changes within the groups. The proportion of adolescents aged 18-19 years, which constitutes the most fertile subgroup of adolescents, increased from 36% to 41% between 1977 and 1984. This can explain the slight increase in the rate for the group as a whole. The internal structure of the 20-29 age groups did not play any role, however, since the age composition remained almost stable over the period in question. (Table 2).

This shift towards a larger contribution of older age groups in total out-of-wedlock fertility appears to be significant, but gives rise to the suspicion that statistics (probably a discordance between the numerator and the denominator of the calculated rate) are the cause. Even though the number of older single mothers is increasing, the increase is probably not as large as the change in rates would lead us to believe. The next section clarifies this issue.

## Table 2. Age Distribution of Single Women 15-30 Years Old, Canada, 1977 and 1984

| Age | Year | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1977 | | | | 1984 | | | |
| | Number | % | Mean Age | % of 15-30 | Number | % | Mean Age | % of 15-30 |
| 15 | 227,900 | 21.4 | | | 184,400 | 19.1 | | |
| 16 | 233,100 | 21.9 | | | 186,400 | 19.3 | | |
| 17 | 222,700 | 20.9 | | | 191,000 | 19.8 | | |
| 18 | 202,900 | 19.1 | | | 199,300 | 20.6 | | |
| 19 | 178,300 | 16.7 | | | 204,300 | 21.2 | | |
| **15-19** | **1,064,800** | **100.0** | **17.4** | **61** | **965,400** | **100.0** | **17.6** | **50** |
| 20 | 150,800 | 29.7 | | | 191,800 | 27.0 | | |
| 21 | 122,000 | 24.0 | | | 168,900 | 23.8 | | |
| 22 | 98,900 | 19.5 | | | 138,800 | 19.5 | | |
| 23 | 76,500 | 15.0 | | | 116,800 | 16.4 | | |
| 24 | 60,600 | 11.9 | | | 94,500 | 13.3 | | |
| **20-24** | **508,600** | **100.0** | **22.1** | **29** | **710,800** | **100.0** | **22.2** | **37** |
| 25 | 48,500 | 28.4 | | | 75,700 | 28.4 | | |
| 26 | 39,000 | 22.8 | | | 61,900 | 23.2 | | |
| 27 | 31,900 | 18.7 | | | 51,000 | 19.1 | | |
| 28 | 27,400 | 16.1 | | | 41,500 | 15.6 | | |
| 29 | 24,100 | 14.1 | | | 36,700 | 13.8 | | |
| **25-29** | **170,900** | **100.0** | **27.2** | **10** | **266,800** | **100.0** | **27.1** | **14** |
| **15-29** | **1,744,300** | ... | ... | **100** | **1,943,000** | ... | ... | **100** |

Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue 91-210 annual.

## Table 3. Adjusted and Unadjusted (for Common-law Unions), and Estimated Age-specific Fertility Rates of Single Women (per 1,000), Canada, 1981

| Rate | Age | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 15-19 | 20-24 | 25-29 | 30-34 | 35-39 |
| Unadjusted Rate | 16.3 | 29.6 | 32.6 | 24.0 | 10.4 |
| Adjusted Rate | 15.8 | 24.8 | 23.7 | 16.3 | 6.8 |
| Estimated Fertility Rate for Single Women | 13.0 | 16.3 | 11.7 | 11.5 | 6.6 |

Source: Jean Dumas and Louise Boyer "Mise au point sur la fécondité des célibataires" in *Les Cahiers québécois de démographie*, Vol. 13, No. 2, October, 1984.

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## The Impact of Common-law Unions on Fertility Rates

A fact gleaned from the 1981 Census[4] about persons living in common-law unions provides a means of adjusting fertility rates in an approximate fashion so that they probably give a more accurate picture of social reality. By adjusting the denominator for the number of single women living common-law, one obtains appreciably lower estimated fertility rates for women who are neither married, nor living in a common-law union. It is these women who are the focus of our attention (Table 3).

The age groups in which the unadjusted rates of fertility have risen most (ages 20-34) are also those in which non-marital cohabitation is frequent. Once the number of women living common-law has been subtracted, the rates for non-cohabiting single adolescents in these groups are much lower (Table 3). Nevertheless, analysis of a long time-series reveals a virtually indisputable increase in the fertility of single adolescents.

## Regional Variations

Of particular interest are the regional variations in the fertility rates of single women (Table 4). The rates for the Yukon and Northwest Territories are substantially above the national average, but there are also marked differences among the provinces. Regardless of the year, Saskatchewan's rate is roughly two and a half times higher than Ontario's. Note that the rates have been standardized to eliminate distortions caused by differences in age structure between provinces and between years. The factors underlying interprovincial variations in "out-of-wedlock" fertility are difficult to pin-down. They can range from sexual freedom to level of education, religious conviction and access to contraception and abortion facilities. One important factor is ethnic composition. For example, the fertility rates for single women are generally highest in the Prairie Provinces, and it is in these populations that the highest percentage of Indians and Métis are found (Table 5).

It is not simply that Native women have a higher overall fertility rate than non-Native women. The out-of-wedlock fertility rate may have also been artificially inflated as the unintentional result of legislation which affected the status of Indian women. Until 1986 (when the legislation was changed), status Indian women lost their status when they married a non-Indian man. As a result, Indian women were probably less willing to marry, preferring instead to enter into a common-law union, with the result that more births are credited to single women in Vital Statistics.

[4] Norland, Joseph, *Selected Characteristics of Cohabiting Persons in Canada 1981.* Statistics Canada 1985, unpublished paper.

### Table 4. Standardized Fertility Rates[1] of Single Women (per 1,000), Canada, Provinces and Territories, 1977-1982, 1984

| Province | 1977 | 1978 | 1979 | 1980 | 1981 | 1982 | 1984 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Prince Edward Island | 21.0 | 21.0 | 21.7 | 21.7 | 25.2 | 24.4 | 26.9 |
| Nova Scotia | 23.5 | 24.5 | 24.2 | 24.4 | 25.5 | 26.4 | 25.9 |
| New Brunswick | 25.6 | 24.6 | 24.8 | 27.1 | 27.4 | 29.4 | 27.6 |
| Quebec | 15.5 | 15.9 | 17.9 | 18.8 | 20.3 | 21.8 | 24.1 |
| Ontario | 14.3 | 14.3 | 14.2 | 14.8 | 15.1 | 16.6 | 17.4 |
| Manitoba | 28.9 | 28.9 | 28.7 | 29.5 | 31.2 | 31.6 | 32.5 |
| Saskatchewan | 37.0 | 37.5 | 37.6 | 39.4 | 41.4 | 42.4 | 42.5 |
| Alberta | 21.2 | 22.0 | 22.4 | 24.7 | 27.7 | 32.1 | 29.0 |
| British Columbia | 20.5 | 20.2 | 21.5 | 23.1 | 24.5 | 24.8 | 25.0 |
| Yukon | 55.8 | 52.8 | 57.0 | 55.1 | 67.2 | 68.5 | 78.0 |
| Northwest Territories | 94.9 | 92.7 | 94.8 | 112.0 | 116.4 | 122.3 | 178.2 |
| Canada | 17.9 | 18.2 | 18.9 | 20.0 | 21.1 | 22.7 | 23.2 |

[1] Age structure of 1976 Canadian population used as standard.
**Source:** Statistics Canada, Vital Statistics.

### Table 5. Distribution of the Native Female Population Aged 20 to 34 and Percentage in Relation to the Total Female Population of the Same Age, Canada, Provinces and Territories, 1981

| Province | Total Number of Natives Females (1) | Native Females Aged 20 to 34 (2) | Total Females Aged 20 to 34 (3) | % of Native Females in Total Female Population Aged 20 to 34 (2) ÷ (3) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Canada | 248,815 | 66,635 | 3,279,303 | 2.0 |
| Newfoundland | 2,085 | 580 | 73,299 | 0.8 |
| Prince Edward Island | 315 | 125 | 14,938 | 0.8 |
| Nova Scotia | 4,060 | 1,170 | 109,217 | 1.1 |
| New Brunswick | 2,795 | 790 | 90,627 | 0.9 |
| Quebec | 26,050 | 7,730 | 890,859 | 0.9 |
| Ontario | 56,255 | 15,950 | 1,137,287 | 1.4 |
| Manitoba | 33,625 | 8,270 | 129,781 | 6.4 |
| Saskatchewan | 30,310 | 7,075 | 116,827 | 6.1 |
| Alberta | 36,610 | 9,680 | 335,063 | 2.9 |
| British Columbia | 41,710 | 11,780 | 370,955 | 3.2 |
| Yukon | 2,065 | 560 | 3,933 | 14.2 |
| Northwest Territories | 12,940 | 2,950 | 6,517 | 45.3 |

**Source:** 1981 Census of Canada. Microfiche SDN 81BB5

# THE STRENGTHENING OF MAJORITY POSITIONS

## Recent Developments in the Language Situation

Réjean Lachapelle[1]

In 1981, the population of Canada was 68% Anglophone and 25% Francophone. Those who spoke a language at home other than French or English accounted for the remaining 7% of the population. Geographically, this distribution is far from uniform: the two official language communities are heavily concentrated. As a result, Anglophones and Francophones, through their daily experiences, form different images of the country's linguistic reality.

Recent changes in linguistic composition among regions stem from differences between the Anglophone or Francophone groups in mortality, fertility, migration and linguistic mobility. Some of the effects of these phenomena on linguistic composition can be determined from census information.

Until quite recently, analysis of demographic changes in language groups had to be based on census for mother tongue (the first language learned, or spoken, and still understood) which was collected in every decennial census from 1921. From an analytical point of view, however, this was a makeshift approach: as pointed out by the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, mother tongue data may be as much as a generation out of date. Accordingly, in the two most recent decennial censuses, 1971 and 1981, the respondent was asked to identify the language most often spoken at home.

Statistics are never perfect, and the data on mother tongue and home language are no exception. While most Canadians can answer the questions relating to these variables without difficulty, some have trouble because they use, or have used, more than one language at home. In both 1971 and 1981, Statistics Canada assigned one (and only one) language to these people. Because their numbers were small, this imputation had little effect on the distributions of the individual language variables; but the effects on individual cells in the joint distributions may be much more serious. Moreover, the mother tongue question was asked of the entire population, while home language data are based on a sample (one-third of the population in 1971 and one-fifth in 1981). (In addition), the statistics on home language do not apply to the total population in 1981 since inmates of institutions were excluded. This omission has virtually no effect on the percentage distributions, but it causes an understatement of about 1% in the population figures.

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[1] Social and Economic Studies Division, Statistics Canada.

LINGUISTIC REGIONS

**Region**

Essentially French

Strong French majority

Bare French majority

Strong English majority

Essentially English
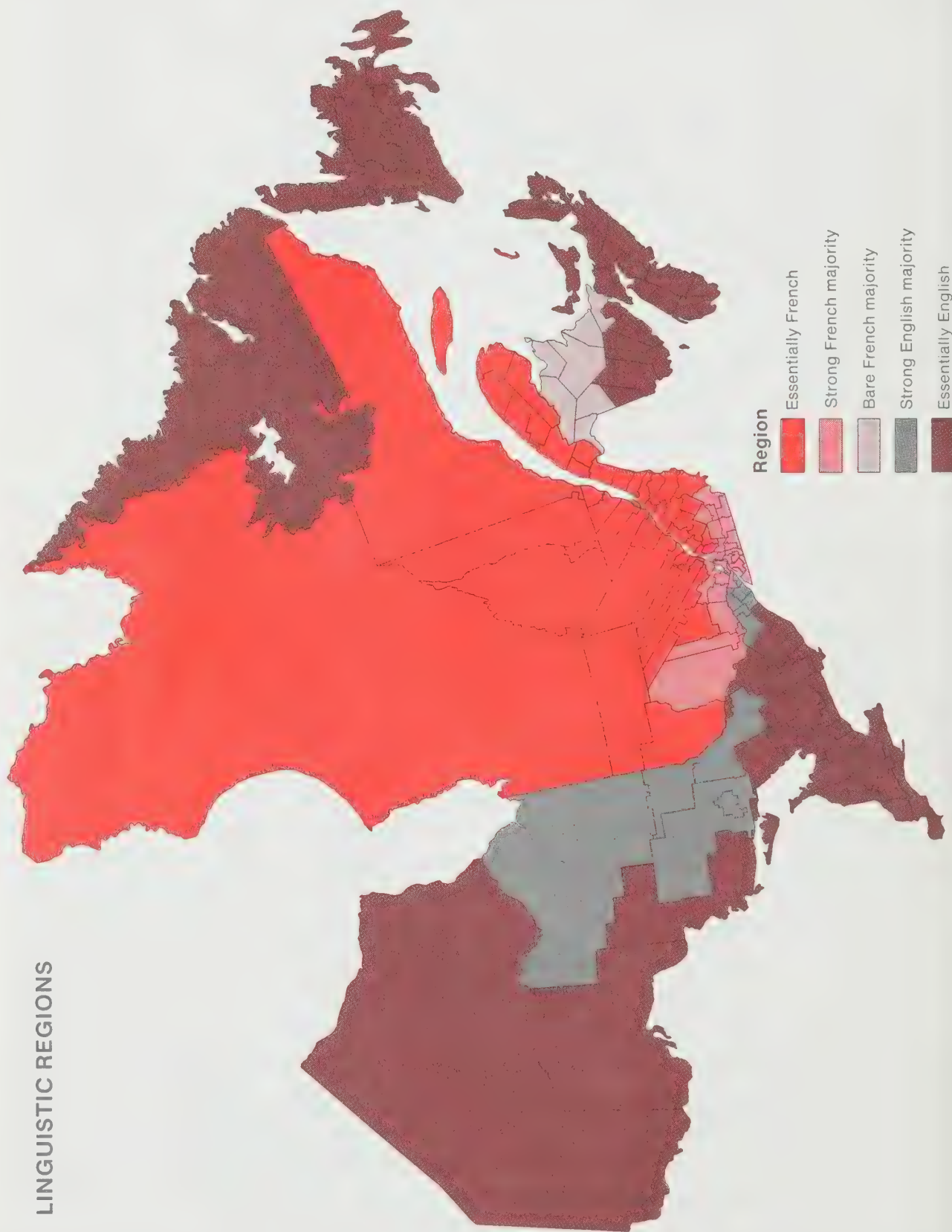
## Heavy Regional Concentration

Most Francophones live in Quebec, where they are in the majority, whereas Anglophones reside primarily in the other provinces. Within each of these two large geographic areas, however, the distribution of Francophone and Anglophone communities is far from uniform. How can this diversity be taken into account without drastically expanding the regional reference framework and complicating the description and analysis? Based on a geographic breakdown proposed by Joy[2] – and updated by Lachapelle and Henripin[3], the country is divided into five major linguistic regions, two in Quebec and three in the rest of the country.

In Quebec, there is a vast expanse to the north and east of the Montreal area that is mostly Francophone (MFR). 2,600,000 people lived there in 1981 (Table 1) – about 11% of the national population and 40% of the population of Quebec. French was spoken at home by 96% of this group, while some 70,000 people, or 3% of the population, spoke English.

The second regional grouping encompasses the entire southwestern part of the province (the Eastern Townships, Montreal and the Ottawa Valley). Its population is more heterogeneous, although Francophones hold a large majority (RFM + ). Nearly 4,000,000 people lived there; 73% of them were French speakers and 20% English speakers. This region accounted for 16% of the national population and 60% of the population of Quebec. More than 90% of Quebec's Anglophones reside there.

The third region is a small one located to the east of Quebec, consisting of the northern and eastern parts of New Brunswick (RFM-). From a language standpoint, it is heterogeneous, with Francophones (home language French) accounting for 56% of the population and Anglophones (home language English) 43%. This region contains roughly 400,000 people, just over half of New Brunswick's population.

The fourth grouping is made up of two areas in Ontario, one in the eastern part of the province and the other in the northeast, where the majority of the population is anglophone (RAM + ). There are slightly over 1 million people living in this region, or 13% of Ontario's population. Seventy-two percent of them reported that their home language was English while 24% reported French. This grouping, which embraces the National Capital, has a linguistic composition much like that of Canada as a whole.

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[2] Joy, Richard J., 1967, *Languages in Conflict, the Canadian Experience*, Ottawa. Published by the author.

[3] Lachapelle, Réjean and Jacques Henripin, *La situation démolinguistique au Canada: évolution passé et prospective*, Montréal, l'Institut de recherches politiques, 1980.

## Table 1. Population[1] by Language Used in the Home, Canada and Major Regions, 1981

| Region | Total | English | French | Other |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Population** | | | |
| **Canada** | **24,083,500** **(24,343,190)[2]** | **16,425,905** | **5,923,010** | **1,734,585** |
| Quebec | 6,369,065 (6,438,395)[2] | 809,145 | 5,256,830 | 303,090 |
| Mostly Francophone (MFR) | 2,582,665 (2,611,515)[2] | 69,345 | 2,484,070 | 29,250 |
| Large Francophone majority (RFM+) | 3,786,400 (3,826,880)[2] | 739,800 | 2,272,760 | 273,840 |
| **Canada excluding Quebec** | **17,714,435** **(17,904,795)[2]** | **15,616,760** | **666,180** | **1,431,495** |
| Small Francophone majority (RFM−) | 372,570 (376,575)[2] | 161,850 | 208,750 | 1,970 |
| Large Anglophone majority (RAM+) | 1,076,160 (1,087,075)[2] | 770,880 | 255,150 | 50,130 |
| Mostly Anglophone (MAR) | 16,265,705 (16,441,145)[2] | 14,684,030 | 202,280 | 1,379,395 |
| | **Composition (%)** | | | |
| **Canada** | **100.0** | **68.2** | **24.6** | **7.2** |
| Quebec | 100.0 | 12.7 | 82.5 | 4.8 |
| MRF | 100.0 | 2.7 | 96.2 | 1.1 |
| RFM+ | 100.0 | 19.5 | 73.2 | 7.2 |
| **Canada excluding Quebec** | **100.0** | **88.2** | **3.8** | **8.1** |
| RFM− | 100.0 | 43.4 | 56.0 | 0.5 |
| RAM+ | 100.0 | 71.6 | 23.7 | 4.7 |
| MAR | 100.0 | 90.3 | 1.2 | 8.5 |
| | **Regional distribution (%)** | | | |
| **Canada** | **100.0** | **100.0** | **100.0** | **100.0** |
| Quebec | 26.4 | 4.9 | 88.8 | 17.5 |
| MFR | 10.7 | 0.4 | 41.9 | 1.7 |
| RFM+ | 15.7 | 4.5 | 46.8 | 15.8 |
| **Canada excluding Quebec** | **73.6** | **95.1** | **11.2** | **82.5** |
| RFM− | 1.5 | 1.0 | 3.5 | 0.1 |
| RAM+ | 4.5 | 4.7 | 4.3 | 2.9 |
| MAR | 67.5 | 89.4 | 3.4 | 79.5 |

[1] Excluding inmates of institutions. Because of rounding, the data do not always add up to the totals.
[2] Including inmates of institutions.
Sources: Tables C2 and C4.

The rest of Canada (the fifth grouping) forms an immense English-speaking territory (MAR). Just over two-thirds of the country's population lives in this region (16,500,000). Nine out of ten people speak English at home; French speakers (200,000) make up little more than 1% of the population. There is not much variation in the linguistic composition of this grouping. In all the provinces and subprovincial areas that comprise it, at most 4% of the population is Francophone (less than 2% everywhere west of Ottawa except in Manitoba) (Table C5). The proportion of Anglophones exceeds 95% in Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, the Yukon and southern New Brunswick, and falls somewhere between 90% and 95% in Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia. In Manitoba, those who speak English at home account for 86% of the population; and in all parts of Ontario except the east and northeast, those who speak English at home account for 88%. The concentration of Anglophones is much lower in the Northwest Territories (64%) because of the high percentage of people (35%) who speak a third language at home, in most cases the Native language Inuktitut.

To sum up, close to 90% of Canada's population who speak English at home live in the mostly Anglophone region, which contains, all languages combined, more than two-thirds of the country's population.

The geographic concentration of French speakers is less pronounced. While 42% of them reside in the mostly Francophone region, 50% are located in regions with only a Francophone majority. A small proportion (3%) live in the primarily Anglophone region.

Contact between the two official language communities takes place mostly in heterogeneous regions, which contain slightly over 20% of Canada's population. These heterogeneous regions form a sort of zone of transition between two linguistically homogeneous areas. According to Joy, they constitute a bilingual belt around the heartland of French Canada.

## Two Majority Perceptions

Very few Canadians (slightly over 1 million) live in areas where the percentage distribution of the language communities is similar to the national profile. As a result, Canada's linguistic composition is probably perceived in very different ways by the average Anglophone or Francophone. It may be assumed that their perceptions of linguistic reality are formed chiefly through their daily contact with members of the various language communities in their immediate surroundings.

How can the impressions that the members of each community have of the country's linguistic reality be quantified? Let us suppose that it is possible to identify a set of regions within which contact between residents occurs randomly, regardless of language characteristics. In each of these regions, perceptions are identical with reality. Let us also suppose that contact between

inhabitants of two regions is minimal. Each community's impression of linguistic reality could then be represented by a specific weighting of the linguistic composition in each region, where the weighting coefficients are derived from the percentage distribution of the reference community's members. This is equivalent, for example, to selecting a Francophone at random somewhere in the country and then choosing another person at random in the region where the Francophone lives. The probability that the second person selected speaks one or another of the different languages at home is an approximate measure of the linguistic composition perceived by Francophones. This composition can also be interpreted as a set of potential contact indices[4].

Using the five geographic regions defined above, we estimated the images that the various language communities had of Canada's linguistic reality in 1981 (Table 2). For the average English speaker, the country was made up of slightly less than 7% Francophones, 8% Allophones and 85% Anglophones. His image of Canada is essentially the same as the linguistic composition found in the mostly Anglophone region. Conversely, for the average French speaker, Canada consists of 18% Anglophones, 78% Francophones and 4% Allophones. The contrast would be even sharper if the calculations had been based on a finer geographic breakdown[5]. But even then, the values calculated in this fashion constitute only a crude approximation of the perceptions that the members of different communities have of the linguistic reality of the country.

By virtue of its heavy geographic concentration, each official language community tends to perceive itself as the majority. These perceptions of majority have become more pronounced since 1971 (Table 2). The day-to-day contacts among Francophones are chiefly with members of their own community even though they are a minority in the country. These discrepancies between perception and reality have become more pronounced even as the percentage of the national population that is Francophone has been falling (from 25.7% in 1971 to 24.6% in 1981).

## Shrinking Minorities

The decline in the percentage of Francophones in the population between 1971 and 1981 protracts a trend that began some 30 years ago. The relative size of the French group[6] dropped from 29.0% in 1951 to 26.9% in 1971 and 25.7% in 1981, while the English group expanded from 59.1% to 61.3% between 1951 and 1981. The third group's share rose from 11.8% in 1951 to 13.5%

[4] Lieberson, Stanley and Donna K. Carter, 1982, "Temporal Changes and Urban Differences in Residential Segregation: A Reconsideration", *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol 88, No. 2, pp 296-310.
[5] Lachapelle, Réjean, 1984, "Linguistic Composition: Perception and Reality", Statistics Canada, Social and Economic Studies Division, working paper.
[6] Persons whose mother tongue is French.

**Table 2. Perception by Language Community of Home-language Composition, Canada, 1971 and 1981 (%)**

| Community | Total | | English | | French | | Other | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1971 | 1981 | 1971 | 1981 | 1971 | 1981 | 1971 | 1981 |
| Anglophone | 100.0 | 100.0 | 83.9 | 85.4 | 7.7 | 6.5 | 8.4 | 8.1 |
| Francophone | 100.0 | 100.0 | 20.0 | 18.0 | 75.9 | 77.6 | 4.1 | 4.4 |
| Allophone | 100.0 | 100.0 | 77.2 | 77.0 | 14.5 | 14.9 | 8.3 | 8.1 |
| All communities | 100.0 | 100.0 | 67.0 | 68.2 | 25.7 | 24.6 | 7.3 | 7.2 |

**Source:** Tables 1 and C4. Calculations by the author.

in 1961 as a result of a decade of heavy immigration, but has shown no significant change since 1961. While 13% of Canadians reported a third language as their mother tongue in 1981, these languages are spoken at home by only 7% of the population, owing to the high level of linguistic mobility affecting them[7].

The general overall pattern of decline of the Francophone community and expansion of the Anglophone is not typical of all regions. Whether we classify the population by home language or by mother tongue, the pattern of change that has developed over the last few years is very clear (Table 3). In every major linguistic region in the country, the majority group is growing larger, while the minority group is shrinking. For the English group in Quebec, whose proportion has been falling slowly for a century, the downward trend accelerated between 1971 and 1981, particularly in the heterogeneous regions with a Francophone majority (RFM + ). In fact, the decline in the English speaking population in this region was absolute as well as relative - from 811,000 in 1971 to under 750,000 in 1981. In the mostly Francophone region (MFR), the percentage of Anglophones, already very low in 1971 (3.2%), continued to shrink. Even their population count decreased from 76,000 in 1971 to about 70,000 in 1981.

In the rest of Canada the pattern of change is in the opposite direction. The relative size of the French speaking population has been falling steadily since the early 1940s. The decline continued between 1971 (4.3%) and 1981 (3.8%), in both the mostly Anglophone area (MAR) and the region with a large Anglophone majority (RAM + ). In the former, the number of Francophones edged down from almost 215,000 in 1971 to about 205,000 in 1981, and in the latter, from 270,000 to less than 260,000. The one exception to the

7 Devereaux, M.S. and Luc Albert, 1985, "Language in Canada", *1981 Census of Canada*, Statistics Canada, Catalogue 99-935.

general trend was in the region with a small Francophone majority comprising northern and eastern New Brunswick (RFM-). The linguistic composition of this region, which contains less than 2% of the national population, changed very little between 1971 and 1981.

The downward trend (both relatively and often absolutely) in the size of the minority language group in each region means that the geographic concentration of the official language communities is becoming more pronounced. This further implies that opportunities for contact between Anglophones and Francophones are diminishing. In each region the proportion of population that is accounted for by the majority language group is increasing. How can this tendency be explained?

**Table 3. Mother-Tongue and Home-language Composition of Population (%)[1], Canada and Major Linguistic Regions, 1971 and 1981**

| Region and year | | Mother tongue | | | Home language | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | English | French | Other | English | French | Other |
| **Canada** | 1971 | 60.2 | 26.9 | 13.0 | 67.0 | 25.7 | 7.3 |
| | 1981 | 61.3 | 25.7 | 13.0 | 68.2 | 24.6 | 7.2 |
| **Quebec** | 1971 | 13.1 | 80.7 | 6.2 | 14.7 | 80.8 | 4.5 |
| | 1981 | 11.0 | 82.4 | 6.6 | 12.7 | 82.5 | 4.8 |
| Mostly Francophone (MFR) | 1971 | 3.1 | 95.6 | 1.2 | 3.2 | 95.9 | 0.9 |
| | 1981 | 2.5 | 96.1 | 1.4 | 2.7 | 96.2 | 1.1 |
| Large Francophone Majority (RFM+) | 1971 | 19.8 | 70.8 | 9.5 | 22.5 | 70.7 | 6.9 |
| | 1981 | 16.7 | 73.1 | 10.2 | 19.5 | 73.2 | 7.2 |
| **Canada excluding Quebec** | 1971 | 78.4 | 6.0 | 15.6 | 87.2 | 4.3 | 8.4 |
| | 1981 | 79.4 | 5.3 | 15.4 | 88.2 | 3.8 | 8.1 |
| Small Francophone Majority (RFM-) | 1971 | 40.8 | 58.0 | 1.2 | 43.7 | 55.4 | 0.9 |
| | 1981 | 40.7 | 58.3 | 1.0 | 43.4 | 56.0 | 0.5 |
| Large Anglophone Majority (RAM+) | 1971 | 60.8 | 30.8 | 8.4 | 68.8 | 26.6 | 4.6 |
| | 1981 | 62.8 | 28.4 | 8.7 | 71.6 | 23.7 | 4.7 |
| Mostly Anglophone (MAR) | 1971 | 80.6 | 2.9 | 16.5 | 89.6 | 1.5 | 8.9 |
| | 1981 | 81.4 | 2.5 | 16.1 | 90.3 | 1.2 | 8.5 |

[1] Due to rounding, the percentages do not always total 100.
**Source:** Tables C2 to C4.

Changes in linguistic composition are governed by four phenomena: mortality, fertility, linguistic mobility and migration, each of which has some effect on linguistic composition. Because of low mortality levels, the differences between the groups now have a negligible impact on linguistic composition.[8] The effects of the other three phenomena, however, are appreciable. In the following, we endeavour to measure the effects that these factors have had on the changes in linguistic composition.

## The Fertility Effect: A Paradox

The high fertility rates that characterized French Canadian women are almost legendary. Yet, they did not always bear more children than other Canadian women! In about 1870, their fertility rate was close to the national average rate[9]. In the ensuing decades, however, the fertility rate for non-francophone women declined while that for the French Canadian women did not. Accordingly, by 1931, the fertility rate of French Canadian women was 70% higher than that of other Canadian women[10]. After 1931, the gap began to narrow and finally disappeared in the mid-1960s. A lower fertility rate is now observable throughout the country as a whole, irrespective of language group affiliation[11].

The 1981 Census format permits the estimation of differences in fertility between the different language groups in each of the regions under consideration. All "non-single" women (which includes women living common-law) were asked how many children they had ever borne. By assuming the fertility of single women to be zero, an "underestimate" of the average number of children per woman (i.e. regardless of marital status) can be obtained. The error in this estimate is probably quite small for women 35 years of age and over, since most of those who had children when they were single later got married or are living common-law. Furthermore, as the "underestimate" affects all language groups, it seems reasonable to conclude that the assumption has little impact on differential fertility.

Two age groups of women were chosen – those who were in the 45-54 age bracket and those aged 35-44 (Table 4). For all practical purposes, the figures for the latter group represent completed fertility, since women today have very few children after the age of 35. Canadian women in this age group averaged 2 4 children per woman. Using this as a reference level and assigning it a value of 100, we find that Francophones had fewer children than Anglophones (their

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8  Lachapelle and Henripin, op. cit., Chapter 3.
9  Henripin, Jacques, *Trends and Factors of Fertility in Canada*, 1961 Census Monograph Programme, Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1968.
10  Lieberson, Stanley, *1970, Language and Ethnic Relations in Canada*, New York, John Wiley.
11  Romaniuc, A, 1984, *Fertility in Canada: From Baby-boom to Baby-bust*, Ottawa, Minister of Supply and Services, Catalogue 91-524E (Occasional).

index was 94, compared with 100 for Anglophones). This reversal of the secular trend is recent since the fertility rate of the Francophone women who were 45-54 years of age in 1981 is still higher than the rate for non-Francophone women.

As to the recently observed differences at the national level, the fertility rate of Francophones tends always to be higher than that of Anglophones in most of the broad linguistic regions, although the differences do have a tendency to become less pronounced among younger women. At first glance there appears to be something paradoxical about this. It results from what may be termed an effect of aggregation. The signs of difference in fertility change (from plus to minus and vice versa) when one passes from the regional level of analysis to the national level. This is attributable to the fact that the fertility rate among recent Francophone cohorts in Quebec has been lower than that of Anglophones living outside this province.

For Canada as a whole, recent fertility levels are slightly higher for English speakers, depressing the percentage for French speakers. Yet fertility has the opposite effect on the linguistic composition in Quebec as well as in the rest of the country. Moreover, the influence of fertility is long-lasting. Because of the high fertility of French Canadians in the past, not only is the average

Table 4. Index of the Average Number of Children per Woman[1]
in Selected Age Groups, by Language Used in the Home,
Canada and Major Linguistic Regions, 1981

| Region | 35-44 | | | | 45-54 | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | English | French | Other | Total | English | French | Other |
| Canada[2] | 100 | 101 | 94 | 106 | 100 | 98 | 106 | 94 |
| Quebec | 92 | 84 | 92 | 104 | 100 | 84 | 104 | 85 |
| MFR | 99 | 107 | 98 | 181 | 116 | 114 | 116 | 159 |
| RFM+ | 88 | 85 | 87 | 98 | 90 | 81 | 93 | 80 |
| Canada excluding Quebec | 103 | 102 | 113 | 107 | 100 | 99 | 130 | 96 |
| RFM- | 119 | 118 | 121 | 132 | 138 | 118 | 154 | 206 |
| RAM+ | 101 | 98 | 110 | 107 | 104 | 98 | 121 | 93 |
| MAR | 103 | 102 | 109 | 107 | 99 | 99 | 123 | 96 |

[1] Excluding inmates of institutions.
[2] For all languages combined, the average number of children per woman was 2.4 in the 35-44 group and 3.1 in the 45-54 group.
Source: Statistics Canada, 1981 Census of Canada, special tabulations.

age of the Francophone population lower than the average age of the Anglophone population, but it also has a larger proportion of adults. This age structure helped the growth of Francophones in all the regions, as well as at the national level. It has been at work during the past decade, offsetting the adverse effect of recent fertility levels. However, these differences will gradually fade over the next 15 years.

Women aged 35 to 44 who speak a language at home other than English or French have a greater number of children than other Canadians. Their higher fertility, therefore, tends to push up the proportion of the "other language" group in the population. The other factors, however, tend to work in the other direction – particularly, the linguistic mobility factor.

## Linguistic Mobility Favours English in All Regions

Some Canadians speak a language at home other than their mother tongue. These transfers from one language to another are the outcome of a process known as linguistic mobility, a process that particularly affects the French and the third language group minorities. Assessments of the strength of this phenomenon and of its impact on linguistic composition are usually based on census data. However, the multi-purpose design of the Census question-naire does not allow a level of detail that is adequate for an analysis of the successive steps of the linguistic mobility process. The definition used in the Census for mother tongue (first language learned and still understood) leads to underestimating the strength of linguistic mobility among minorities, since those who no longer understand their original language are not included in that category. The information on home language (i.e. language most often spoken at home) was also clouded by a reducing process as only one language was selected. Therefore, it is important to not confuse linguistic mobility with linguistic assimilation.

We are interested only in the effects of linguistic mobility on linguistic com-position. It has been shown that the index of linguistic continuity is well-suited for this purpose[12]. This index is the ratio of the number of people speaking a particular language at home to the number reporting the same language as their mother tongue. Where it exceeds 100 (assuming it is expressed as a percen-tage), it means that the language in question is making a net gain through language transfers. Conversely, a reading of under 100 indicates that the language is losing as a result of linguistic mobility.

In all regions, even in the mostly Francophone ones (Table 5) the net transfer is to English. The exact opposite is true for the third languages, which sustain large losses in all regions. As for the French language, it is just holding its own in the two Quebec regions; elsewhere in Canada, the lower its percentage of

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12 Lachapelle, Réjean, 1984, "Analysis of Linguistic Mobility: Indexes, Observations and Models", Statistics Canada, Social and Economic Studies Division, working paper.

the region's population, the greater the rate of transfer to English. In the mostly Anglophone areas, half the French-mother-tongue population speaks English at home. Among French Canadian women between the ages of 35 and 44, (who reflect the phenomenon's recent trends), over 60% have transferred to English as their home language (Table 5). The linguistic mobility rate of the French Canadian women in this age group exceeds the rate of linguistic mobility of women in the third group, probably because the majority of the latter were born in other countries.

It would seem reasonable to suppose that a child's mother tongue would be the mother's home language. On the basis of this assumption, it is possible to construct a linguistic reproduction index, which measures the joint effect of differential fertility and linguistic mobility on linguistic composition. It is the ratio (multiplied by 100) of a particular mother tongue's proportion in the children's birth cohort to the corresponding proportion in the mother's cohort. In most of the regions the higher fertility of Francophones attenuates the impact of language transfers (Table 6).

**Table 5. Continuity Index[1] (%) for the Total Population[2]
and Women Aged 35 to 44, by Mother Tongue,
Canada and Major Linguistic Regions, 1981**

| Region | Total population (%) | | | Women aged 35 to 44 (%) | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | English | French | Other | English | French | Other |
| **Canada** | **111** | **96** | **55** | **117** | **94** | **53** |
| **Quebec** | **116** | **100** | **71** | **122** | **100** | **74** |
| MFR | 106 | 100 | 82 | 107 | 100 | 81 |
| RFM+ | 118 | 100 | 70 | 124 | 99 | 74 |
| **Canada excluding Quebec** | **111** | **72** | **52** | **116** | **61** | **51** |
| RMF− | 107 | 96 | 55 | 110 | 94 | 70 |
| RAM+ | 114 | 84 | 52 | 121 | 78 | 50 |
| MAR | 111 | 50 | 52 | 116 | 38 | 51 |

[1] This index is the ratio of the number of persons speaking a particular language at home to the number reporting the same language as their mother tongue.
[2] Excluding inmates of institutions.
**Source:** Statistics Canada, 1981 Census of Canada, special tabulations.

**Table 6. Linguistic Reproduction Index for Women Aged[1] 35 to 44, by Mother Tongue, Canada and Major Linguistic Regions, 1981**

| Region | Total | English | French | Other |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Canada** | **100** | **118** | **88** | **57** |
| **Quebec** | **100** | **115** | **100** | **83** |
| MFR | 100 | 117 | 99 | 148 |
| RFM+ | 100 | 119 | 99 | 82 |
| **Canada excluding Quebec** | **100** | **115** | **67** | **53** |
| RFM⁻ | 100 | 109 | 94 | 77 |
| RAM+ | 100 | 117 | 84 | 53 |
| MAR | 100 | 115 | 41 | 53 |

[1] Excluding inmates of institutions.
**Source:** Statistics Canada, 1981 Census of Canada, special tabulations.

## Internal Migration Consistently Benefits the Francophone Group

During each of the last three five-year periods, the propensity of Anglophones to move from Quebec to elsewhere in Canada was invariably ten times greater than that of Francophones. Conversely, the tendency to move to Quebec from other parts of Canada was much stronger for Francophones than for Anglophones[13]. However, these propensities do not measure the actual effect of migration on linguistic composition.

One of the questions the 1981 Census asked was the place of residence five years before (in 1976). Given these data, it is easy to compute the migration balance for each region and to compile it by language group (Table 7). Among the five major regions only the mostly Anglophone area posted a net gain. This finding applies to all language groups except the French group, which showed a slight migration gain in the region with a larger Francophone majority in Quebec.

To measure the impact of internal migration on linguistic composition, account must be taken of the populations of the various language groups in each region. To this end, we calculated linguistic net in-migration by taking the internal linguistic migration balances and dividing them by the corresponding number of persons of the mother tongue concerned who were residents of Canada in 1981 and lived in the region in 1976 (Table 7).

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13 Baillargeon, Mireille, 1983, "Évolution et caractéristiques linguistiques des échanges migratoires interprovinciaux et internationaux du Québec depuis 1971", Québec, Conseil de la langue française (draft edition). Lachapelle et Henripin, op. cit.

The net in-migration ratio for the French group was invariably higher than that for the English group. The pattern of change in the 1966-71 and 1971-76 periods was similar[14]. The explanation for this is that Francophones are concentrated in regions with negative migration balances. They leave these regions less than Anglophones, which raises their proportion of the population. Furthermore, although in the mostly Anglophone region the migration balance for the English group is far larger than for the French group (131,000 English to 25,000 French), proportionally the migration balance favours the French group. This tends to push the proportion of Francophones upward, but is insufficient to offset the adverse effect of linguistic mobility.

**Table 7. Internal Migration Balance and Net In-Migration Ratio by Mother Tongue, Canada and Major Linguistic Regions, 1976-1981[1]**

| Region | Total | English | French | Other |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Internal migration balance (in thousands) | | | |
| **Quebec** | **−141.7** | **−106.3** | **−18.1** | **−17.3** |
| MFR | −37.3 | −13.4 | −22.0 | −1.9 |
| RFM | −104.4 | −92.9 | +3.9 | −15.4 |
| **Canada excluding Quebec** | **+141.7** | **+106.3** | **+18.1** | **+17.3** |
| RFM | −4.7 | −4.0 | −0.6 | −0.1 |
| RAM | −29.0 | −20.8 | −6.6 | −1.6 |
| MAR | +175.4 | +131.1 | +25.3 | +19.0 |
| | Net In-Migration Ratio[2] (%) | | | |
| **Quebec** | **−2.4** | **−14.3** | **−0.4** | **−4.6** |
| MFR | −1.6 | −18.2 | −1.0 | −6.5 |
| RFM+ | −2.9 | −13.9 | +0.2 | −4.4 |
| **Canada excluding Quebec** | **+0.9** | **+0.9** | **+2.1** | **+0.7** |
| RFM− | −1.4 | −2.8 | −0.3 | −3.9 |
| RAM+ | −2.9 | −3.3 | −2.3 | −1.8 |
| MAR | +1.2 | +1.1 | +7.1 | +0.8 |

[1]Excluding population under five years of age in 1981 and inmates of institutions.
[2]The ratio of the internal migration balance to the corresponding number of persons who were residents of Canada in 1981 and lived in the region in question in 1976.
**Source:** Statistics Canada, 1981 Census of Canada, special tabulations.

[14] Lachapelle and Henripin, op. cit, p. 201.

It may seem surprising that internal migrations could cause a rise in the relative importance of Francophones. The ways in which internal migration affect linguistic composition may best be illustrated as follows. Let us consider a territory consisting of two small regions. In the first reside 1,000 persons, 800 of whom speak language A, and 200 language B; in the second region, which is more populous, only 150 people speak A, but 2,850 speak B. Let us now suppose that no deaths or births occur over a five-year period, the only source of population growth or decline being confined to internal migration. In the fifth year a census count reveals that there was a net movement of 30 persons from the first region to the second, 5 of language A and 25 of language B. There are still 4,000 persons living in the territory and the number speaking language A (950), and language B (3,050) is unchanged. However, the weight of language A has advanced in both of the two constituent regions. In the first region, it has gone from 80% (800/1,000) to 82% (795/970) and in the second, from 5.0% (150/3,000) to 5.1% (155/3,030). This is analogous to the situation observed in Canada.

Conventionally, one does not consider the effects of migration on the linguistic composition of regions, but on the regional distribution of the population. If regions composed of a high proportion of Francophones lose importance in the country as a result of internal migratory movements, one may conclude that migration is unfavourable to Francophones. This reasoning is perhaps not false, but what can be affirmed is that it doesn't apply to the influence of internal migration on the linguistic make up.

## The Third Group Gains Through Immigration

The impact of international migration cannot be measured with available data. While there are estimates of the total number of emigrants, there is no information on their linguistic composition. Accordingly, we decided to confine this discussion to immigration, with only a few observations about emigration in the conclusion.

In 1981, over 550,000 people reported that they had been living abroad five years before (Table 8). This figure includes not only those people who had immigrated in the five-year period since 1976 and who were still resident in Canada in 1981, but it includes also Canadians who were residing in other countries in 1976 but had returned by 1981. About 80% of those 550,000 people had taken up residence in the mostly Anglophone region of the country. This is a far larger proportion than the proportion of the Canadian population living in this region (67.5% in 1981). The opposite is true in the other regions (Tables 1 and 8). Most of the immigrants settled in the same regions that experienced growth through internal population exchanges.

The language characteristics of immigrants influence their choice of geographical destination. Quebec is much more attractive to immigrants who

report French as their mother tongue (76%) than those who report English (6%). This situation is reversed in the rest of Canada. Thus, there is a very sharp division in the geographic allocation of immigrants by mother tongue, which has remained almost unchanged during the past three five-year periods[15].

**Table 8. Population[1] Reporting Having Resided in Another Country in 1976, by Mother Tongue, Canada and Major Linguistic Regions, 1981**

| Region | Total[2] | English | French | Other |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Number (in thousands) | | | |
| **Canada** | **56.2** | **251.2** | **39.5** | **265.5** |
| **Quebec** | **84.7** | **15.4** | **30.1** | **39.2** |
| MFR | 12.4 | 1.1 | 7.3 | 4.0 |
| RFM+ | 72.3 | 14.3 | 22.8 | 35.2 |
| **Canada excluding Quebec** | **471.5** | **235.7** | **9.4** | **226.3** |
| RFM− | 3.1 | 1.4 | 1.5 | 0.3 |
| RAM+ | 20.9 | 11.0 | 1.6 | 8.3 |
| MAR | 447.4 | 223.3 | 6.3 | 217.8 |
| | Composition (%) | | | |
| **Canada** | **100.0** | **45.2** | **7.1** | **47.7** |
| **Quebec** | **100.0** | **18.2** | **35.5** | **46.3** |
| MFR | 100.0 | 8.9 | 58.8 | 32.4 |
| RFM+ | 100.0 | 19.8 | 31.5 | 48.7 |
| **Canada excluding Quebec** | **100.0** | **50.0** | **2.0** | **48.0** |
| RFM− | 100.0 | 43.9 | 46.9 | 9.2 |
| RAM+ | 100.0 | 52.7 | 7.8 | 39.5 |
| MAR | 100.0 | 49.9 | 1.4 | 48.7 |
| | Regional distribution (%) | | | |
| **Canada** | **100.0** | **100.0** | **100.0** | **100.0** |
| **Quebec** | **15.2** | **6.1** | **76.1** | **14.8** |
| REF | 2.2 | 0.4 | 18.4 | 1.5 |
| RMF+ | 13.0 | 5.7 | 57.7 | 13.3 |
| **Canada excluding Quebec** | **84.8** | **93.9** | **23.9** | **85.2** |
| RMF− | 0.6 | 0.5 | 3.7 | 0.1 |
| RMA+ | 3.8 | 4.4 | 4.1 | 3.1 |
| MAR | 80.4 | 88.9 | 16.0 | 82.0 |

[1] Excluding population under five years of age in 1981 and inmates of institutions.
[2] Because of rounding, the sum of the data does not always equal the total.
**Source:** Statistics Canada, 1981 Census of Canada, special tabulations.

[15] Lachappelle and Henripin, op. cit., p. 238 and 55.

Nearly half of all immigrants belong to the third group (home language other than French or English), which exceeds by far the percentage of that group in the national population (13%). The picture is much the same in all regions (Tables 3 and 8). In other words, immigration favours the third group and pushes its proportion upward in all areas. Conversely, the effect of immigration on the French share of total population is negative in all regions while the effect of immigration on the English share varies from region to region. The English group benefits from immigration where it is a minority, and loses where it constitutes the majority. These results relate solely to immigration. If the impact of both phenomena (immigration and emigration) could be taken into account, both the English and the French groups in most regions would probably be adversely affected.

## Synopsis

In the course of the last decade, the majority positions of the two official language communities strengthened. In all regions where Anglophones constitute the majority, including the country as a whole, their proportion of the population increased. The same was true of Francophones in regions where they were in the majority. As a result, there was a decline in the relative sizes and even in the population counts of official language minorities. This trend also intensified the regional concentration of Anglophones and Francophones.

Most of the members of the two official language communities do not reside in the same regions. They therefore seldom encounter each other in their day-to-day lives. They have regular contact chiefly with members of their own community. Consequently, the country's linguistic reality has only an abstract meaning for English and French speakers alike. Very few Canadians live in areas where the linguistic composition is similar to that of the country as a whole. Because of their heavy regional concentration, both Anglophones and Francophones tend to perceive themselves as members of a majority group.

Appendix C

Table C1. Distribution of Census Divisions in Linguistic Regions,
New Brunswick, Ontario and Quebec

| 1971 | 1981 |
|---|---|
| **NEW BRUNSWICK** | |
| **North and East** (Region With Small Francophone Majority (RFM-)) | |
| Gloucester<br>Kent<br>Madawaska<br>Northumberland<br>Restigouche<br>Victoria<br>Westmorland | Same |
| **South** (Mostly Anglophone Region (MAR)) | |
| All Other Census Divisions | Same |
| **ONTARIO** | |
| **East** (Region With Large Anglophone Majority (RAM + )) | |
| Glengarry<br>Ottawa-Carleton<br>Prescott<br>Russel<br>Stormont | Same |
| **Northeast** (Region With Large Anglophone Majority (RAM + )) | |
| Cochrane<br>Nipissing<br>Sudbury<br>Timiskaming | Same plus<br>Sudbury Regional |
| **Rest of the Province** (Mostly Anglophone Region (MAR)) | |
| All Other<br>Census Divisions | All Other<br>Census Divisions |

**Table C1. Distribution of Census Divisions in Linguistic Regions, New Brunswick, Ontario and Quebec – Concluded**

| 1971 | 1981 |
|---|---|
| **QUEBEC** ||
| **Ottawa Valley** (Region With Large Francophone Majority (RFM+)) ||
| Gatineau<br>Hull<br>Papineau<br>Pontiac | Same |
| **Central Montreal:** (Region With Large Francophone Majority (RFM+)) ||
| Ile-de-Montréal<br>Ile-Jesus | Same |
| **Outskirts of Montreal** (Region With large Francophone Majority (RFM+)) ||
| Argenteuil<br>Beauharnois<br>Chambly<br>Châteauguay<br>Deux-Montagnes<br>Huntingdon<br>Iberville<br>Laprairie<br>L'Assomption<br>Napierville<br>Rouville<br>Saint-Jean<br>Soulanges<br>Terrebonne<br>Vaudreuil<br>Verchères | Same |
| **Eastern** (Region With Large Francophone Majority (RFM+)) ||
| Brome<br>Compton<br>Missisquoi<br>Richmond<br>Shefford<br>Sherbrooke<br>Stanstead | Same |
| **Rest of the Province** (Mostly Francophone Region (MFR)) ||
| All Other Census Divisions | Same |

# Table C2. Population by Mother Tongue, Canada and Regions¹, 1971 and 1981

| Region | 1971 | | | | 1981 | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | English | French | Other | Total | English | French | Other |
| **Canada** | **21,568,310** | **12,973,805** | **5,793,650** | **2,800,855** | **24,343,190** | **14,918,465** | **6,249,100** | **3,175,625** |
| Quebec | 6,027,760 | 789,185 | 4,867,250 | 371,325 | 6,438,395 | 706,110 | 5,307,010 | 425,275 |
| Ottawa Valley | 217,040 | 40,830 | 172,050 | 4,160 | 243,700 | 42,195 | 195,190 | 6,315 |
| Montreal | 3,080,915 | 625,870 | 2,121,395 | 333,650 | 3,243,270 | 553,615 | 2,311,680 | 377,975 |
| Centre | 2,187,145 | 494,945 | 1,382,320 | 309,880 | 2,028,455 | 421,795 | 1,271,765 | 334,895 |
| Outskirts | 893,770 | 130,925 | 739,075 | 23,770 | 1,214,815 | 131,820 | 1,039,915 | 43,080 |
| Eastern Townships | 311,770 | 46,980 | 261,285 | 3,505 | 339,910 | 44,185 | 291,215 | 4,510 |
| Rest of Quebec | 2,418,035 | 75,505 | 2,312,520 | 30,010 | 2,611,515 | 66,115 | 2,508,925 | 36,475 |
| **Canada Excluding Quebec** | **15,540,555** | **12,184,630** | **926,405** | **2,429,520** | **17,904,780** | **14,212,345** | **942,085** | **2,750,350** |
| Newfoundland | 522,100 | 514,515 | 3,640 | 3,945 | 567,685 | 560,465 | 2,655 | 4,565 |
| Prince Edward Island | 111,645 | 103,105 | 7,365 | 1,175 | 122,505 | 115,045 | 6,080 | 1,380 |
| Nova Scotia | 788,960 | 733,555 | 39,335 | 16,070 | 847,440 | 793,165 | 36,030 | 18,245 |
| New Brunswick | 634,555 | 410,400 | 215,725 | 8,430 | 696,405 | 453,315 | 234,030 | 9,060 |
| North and East | 345,940 | 141,130 | 200,620 | 4,190 | 376,575 | 153,295 | 219,365 | 3,915 |
| South | 288,615 | 269,270 | 15,105 | 4,240 | 319,835 | 300,020 | 14,665 | 5,150 |
| Ontario | 7,703,110 | 5,971,570 | 482,045 | 1,249,495 | 8,625,105 | 6,678,765 | 475,605 | 1,470,735 |
| East | 595,835 | 389,705 | 162,980 | 43,150 | 681,805 | 449,370 | 171,410 | 61,025 |
| Northeast | 419,270 | 227,425 | 149,850 | 41,995 | 405,270 | 233,640 | 137,540 | 34,090 |
| Rest of Ontario | 6,688,005 | 5,354,440 | 169,215 | 1,164,350 | 7,538,030 | 5,995,755 | 166,655 | 1,375,620 |
| Manitoba | 988,245 | 662,720 | 60,545 | 264,980 | 1,026,245 | 735,920 | 52,560 | 237,765 |
| Saskatchewan | 926,240 | 685,915 | 31,605 | 208,720 | 968,310 | 770,815 | 25,540 | 171,955 |
| Alberta | 1,627,875 | 1,263,935 | 46,500 | 317,440 | 2,237,725 | 1,810,545 | 62,145 | 365,035 |
| British Columbia | 2,184,620 | 1,807,255 | 38,030 | 339,335 | 2,744,470 | 2,249,310 | 45,620 | 449,540 |
| Yukon | 18,390 | 15,350 | 450 | 2,590 | 23,150 | 20,240 | 585 | 2,325 |
| Northwest Territories | 34,815 | 16,310 | 1,165 | 17,340 | 45,740 | 24,760 | 1,235 | 19,745 |

¹ The regions are defined in Table C1.
**Source:** Statistics Canada, 1971 and 1981 Censuses of Canada, special tabulations.

**Table C3. Composition (%) of the Population by Mother Tongue, Canada and Regions[1], 1971 and 1981**

| Region | 1971 | | | | 1981 | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total[2] | English | French | Other | Total[2] | English | French | Other |
| **Canada** | **100.0** | **60.2** | **26.9** | **13.0** | **100.0** | **61.3** | **25.7** | **13.0** |
| Quebec | 100.0 | 13.1 | 80.7 | 6.2 | 100.0 | 11.0 | 82.4 | 6.6 |
| Ottawa Valley | 100.0 | 18.8 | 79.3 | 1.9 | 100.0 | 17.3 | 80.1 | 2.6 |
| Montreal | 100.0 | 20.3 | 68.9 | 10.8 | 100.0 | 17.1 | 71.3 | 11.7 |
| Centre | 100.0 | 22.6 | 63.2 | 14.2 | 100.0 | 20.8 | 62.7 | 16.5 |
| Outskirts | 100.0 | 14.6 | 82.7 | 2.7 | 100.0 | 10.9 | 85.6 | 3.5 |
| Eastern Townships | 100.0 | 15.1 | 83.8 | 1.1 | 100.0 | 13.0 | 85.7 | 1.3 |
| Rest of Quebec | 100.0 | 3.1 | 95.6 | 1.2 | 100.0 | 2.5 | 96.1 | 1.4 |
| **Canada Excluding Quebec** | **100.0** | **78.4** | **6.0** | **15.6** | **100.0** | **79.4** | **5.3** | **15.4** |
| Newfoundland | 100.0 | 98.5 | 0.7 | 0.8 | 100.0 | 98.7 | 0.5 | 0.8 |
| Prince Edward Island | 100.0 | 92.4 | 6.6 | 1.1 | 100.0 | 93.9 | 5.0 | 1.1 |
| Nova Scotia | 100.0 | 93.0 | 5.0 | 2.0 | 100.0 | 93.6 | 4.3 | 2.2 |
| New Brunswick | 100.0 | 64.7 | 34.0 | 1.3 | 100.0 | 65.1 | 33.6 | 1.3 |
| North and East | 100.0 | 40.8 | 58.0 | 1.2 | 100.0 | 40.7 | 58.3 | 1.0 |
| South | 100.0 | 93.3 | 5.2 | 1.5 | 100.0 | 93.8 | 4.6 | 1.6 |
| Ontario | 100.0 | 77.5 | 6.3 | 16.2 | 100.0 | 77.4 | 5.5 | 17.1 |
| East | 100.0 | 65.4 | 27.4 | 7.2 | 100.0 | 65.9 | 25.1 | 9.0 |
| Northeast | 100.0 | 54.2 | 35.7 | 10.0 | 100.0 | 57.7 | 33.9 | 8.4 |
| Rest of Ontario | 100.0 | 80.1 | 2.5 | 17.4 | 100.0 | 79.5 | 2.2 | 18.2 |
| Manitoba | 100.0 | 67.1 | 6.1 | 26.8 | 100.0 | 71.7 | 5.1 | 23.2 |
| Saskatchewan | 100.0 | 74.1 | 3.4 | 22.5 | 100.0 | 79.6 | 2.6 | 17.8 |
| Alberta | 100.0 | 77.6 | 2.9 | 19.5 | 100.0 | 80.9 | 2.8 | 16.3 |
| British Columbia | 100.0 | 82.7 | 1.7 | 15.5 | 100.0 | 82.0 | 1.7 | 16.4 |
| Yukon | 100.0 | 83.5 | 2.4 | 14.1 | 100.0 | 87.4 | 2.5 | 10.0 |
| Northwest Territories | 100.0 | 46.8 | 3.3 | 49.8 | 100.0 | 54.1 | 2.7 | 43.2 |

[1] The regions are defined in Table C1.
[2] Because of rounding, the data do not always total 100.
**Source:** Table C2.

## Table C4. Population by Language Used in the Home, Canada and Regions[1], 1971 and 1981

| Region | 1971 | | | | 1981[2] | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | English | French | Other | Total | English | French | Other |
| **Canada** | **21,568,315** | **14,446,240** | **5,546,025** | **1,576,050** | **24,083,500** | **16,425,905** | **5,923,010** | **1,734,585** |
| Quebec | 6,027,760 | 887,875 | 4,870,100 | 269,785 | 6,369,065 | 809,145 | 5,256,830 | 303,090 |
| Ottawa Valley | 217,040 | 45,595 | 168,960 | 2,485 | 242,165 | 46,505 | 191,665 | 3,995 |
| Montreal | 3,080,930 | 716,890 | 2,120,785 | 243,255 | 3,208,965 | 648,365 | 2,293,370 | 267,230 |
| Centre | 2,187,155 | 572,680 | 1,383,785 | 230,690 | 2,002,605 | 501,665 | 1,258,365 | 242,575 |
| Outskirts | 893,775 | 144,210 | 737,000 | 12,565 | 1,206,360 | 146,700 | 1,035,005 | 24,655 |
| Eastern townships | 311,775 | 48,985 | 261,050 | 1,740 | 335,270 | 44,930 | 287,725 | 2,615 |
| Rest of Quebec | 2,418,015 | 76,405 | 2,319,305 | 22,305 | 2,582,665 | 69,345 | 2,484,070 | 29,250 |
| **Canada Excluding Quebec** | **15,540,550** | **13,558,370** | **675,920** | **1,306,260** | **17,714,435** | **15,616,760** | **666,185** | **1,431,490** |
| Newfoundland | 522,105 | 517,210 | 2,295 | 2,600 | 563,740 | 559,520 | 1,810 | 2,410 |
| Prince Edward Island | 111,645 | 106,795 | 4,405 | 445 | 121,230 | 117,080 | 3,730 | 420 |
| Nova Scotia | 788,965 | 753,730 | 27,220 | 8,015 | 839,810 | 806,950 | 24,450 | 8,410 |
| New Brunswick | 634,565 | 430,725 | 199,085 | 4,755 | 689,375 | 468,545 | 216,585 | 4,245 |
| North and East | 345,945 | 151,185 | 191,750 | 3,010 | 372,570 | 161,850 | 208,750 | 1,970 |
| South | 288,620 | 279,540 | 7,335 | 1,745 | 316,805 | 306,695 | 7,835 | 2,275 |
| Ontario | 7,703,100 | 6,558,065 | 352,460 | 792,575 | 8,534,265 | 7,337,255 | 332,945 | 864,065 |
| East | 595,830 | 428,355 | 142,870 | 24,605 | 674,555 | 497,855 | 143,210 | 33,490 |
| Northeast | 419,265 | 270,075 | 127,130 | 22,060 | 401,605 | 273,025 | 111,940 | 16,640 |
| Rest of Ontario | 6,688,005 | 5,859,635 | 82,460 | 745,910 | 7,458,105 | 6,566,375 | 77,795 | 813,935 |
| Manitoba | 988,245 | 816,555 | 39,600 | 132,090 | 1,013,705 | 872,075 | 31,045 | 110,585 |
| Saskatchewan | 926,235 | 832,515 | 15,930 | 77,790 | 956,435 | 887,385 | 10,085 | 58,965 |
| Alberta | 1,627,870 | 1,477,960 | 22,695 | 127,215 | 2,213,660 | 2,029,505 | 29,555 | 154,600 |
| British Columbia | 2,184,620 | 2,027,120 | 11,505 | 145,995 | 2,713,610 | 2,487,330 | 15,120 | 211,160 |
| Yukon | 18,390 | 17,465 | 135 | 790 | 23,070 | 22,170 | 230 | 670 |
| Northwest Territories | 34,810 | 20,230 | 590 | 13,990 | 45,535 | 28,945 | 630 | 15,960 |

[1] The regions are defined in Table C1.
[2] Excluding inmates of institutions.

**Source:** Statistics Canada, 1971 and 1981 Censuses of Canada, special tabulations

**Table C5. Composition (%) of the Population by Language Used in the Home, Canada and Regions¹, 1971 and 1981**

| Region | 1971 | | | | 1981 | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total³ | English | French | Other | Total³ | English | French | Other |
| **Canada** | **100.0** | **67.0** | **25.7** | **7.3** | **100.0** | **68.2** | **24.6** | **7.2** |
| Quebec | 100.0 | 14.7 | 80.8 | 4.5 | 100.0 | 12.7 | 82.5 | 4.8 |
| Ottawa Valley | 100.0 | 21.0 | 77.8 | 1.1 | 100.0 | 19.2 | 79.1 | 1.6 |
| Montreal | 100.0 | 23.3 | 68.8 | 7.9 | 100.0 | 20.2 | 71.5 | 8.3 |
| Centre | 100.0 | 26.2 | 63.3 | 10.5 | 100.0 | 25.1 | 62.8 | 12.1 |
| Outskirts | 100.0 | 16.1 | 82.5 | 1.4 | 100.0 | 12.2 | 85.8 | 2.0 |
| Eastern townships | 100.0 | 15.7 | 83.7 | 0.6 | 100.0 | 13.4 | 85.8 | 0.8 |
| Rest of Quebec | 100.0 | 3.2 | 95.9 | 0.9 | 100.0 | 2.7 | 96.2 | 1.1 |
| **Canada Excluding Quebec** | **100.0** | **87.2** | **4.3** | **8.4** | **100.0** | **88.2** | **3.8** | **8.1** |
| Newfoundland | 100.0 | 99.1 | 0.4 | 0.5 | 100.0 | 99.3 | 0.3 | 0.4 |
| Prince Edward Island | 100.0 | 95.7 | 3.9 | 0.4 | 100.0 | 96.6 | 3.1 | 0.3 |
| Nova Scotia | 100.0 | 95.5 | 3.5 | 1.0 | 100.0 | 96.1 | 2.9 | 1.0 |
| New Brunswick | 100.0 | 67.9 | 31.4 | 0.7 | 100.0 | 68.0 | 31.4 | 0.6 |
| North and East | 100.0 | 43.7 | 55.4 | 0.9 | 100.0 | 43.4 | 56.0 | 0.5 |
| South | 100.0 | 96.9 | 2.5 | 0.6 | 100.0 | 96.8 | 2.5 | 0.7 |
| Ontario | 100.0 | 85.1 | 4.6 | 10.3 | 100.0 | 86.0 | 3.9 | 10.1 |
| East | 100.0 | 71.9 | 24.0 | 4.1 | 100.0 | 73.8 | 21.2 | 5.0 |
| Northeast | 100.0 | 64.4 | 30.3 | 5.3 | 100.0 | 68.0 | 27.9 | 4.1 |
| Rest of Ontario | 100.0 | 87.6 | 1.2 | 11.2 | 100.0 | 88.0 | 1.0 | 10.9 |
| Manitoba | 100.0 | 82.6 | 4.0 | 13.4 | 100.0 | 86.0 | 3.1 | 10.9 |
| Saskatchewan | 100.0 | 89.9 | 1.7 | 8.4 | 100.0 | 92.8 | 1.1 | 6.2 |
| Alberta | 100.0 | 90.8 | 1.4 | 7.8 | 100.0 | 91.7 | 1.3 | 7.0 |
| British Columbia | 100.0 | 92.8 | 0.5 | 6.7 | 100.0 | 91.7 | 0.6 | 7.8 |
| Yukon | 100.0 | 95.0 | 0.7 | 4.3 | 100.0 | 96.1 | 1.0 | 2.9 |
| Northwest Territories | 100.0 | 58.1 | 1.7 | 40.2 | 100.0 | 63.6 | 1.4 | 35.0 |

1 The regions are defined in Table C4.
2 Excluding inmates of institutions.
3 Because of rounding, the data do not always total 100.
**Source:** Table C4.

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# Glossary[1]

**Census year:** A neologism patterned after "fiscal year". In Canada, it refers to the 12-month period between June 1 of one year to May 31 of the following year. It can equally designate the year during which a census is held.

**Cohort:** A group of individuals or couples who experience the same event during a specified period. For example, there are birth cohorts and marriage cohorts.

**Cohort, fictitious:** An artificial cohort created from portions of actual cohorts present at different successive ages in the same year.

**Crude rate:** Relates certain events to the size of the entire population. For example, the crude birth rate for Canada is the ratio of the number of births in Canada in a year to the size of the Canadian population at mid-year. Crude death rates and crude divorce rates are calculated in the same way.

**Current index:** An index constructed from measurements of demographic phenomena and based on the events reflecting those phenomena during a given period, usually a year. For example, life expectancy in 1981 is a current index in the sense that it indicates the average number of years a person would live if he or she experienced 1981 conditions throughout his or her life.

**Dependency ratio:** Ratio denoting the dependency on the working population of some or all of the non-working population.

**Depopulation:** The decline in the population of an area through an excess of deaths over births (not to be confused with the depletion of an area through emigration).

**Endogenous:** Influences from inside the system.

**Exogenous:** Influences from outside the system.

**Fertility:** Relates the number of live births to the number of women, couples or, very rarely, men.

**Frequency:** Frequency of occurence within a cohort of the events characterizing a paticular phenomenon.

**Infant mortality:** Mortality of children less than a year old.

**Life expectancy:** A statistical measure derived from the life table indicating the average years of life remaining for a person at the specified age, if the current age-specific mortality rates prevail for the remainder of that person's life.

**Life table:** A detailed description of the mortality of a population giving the probability of dying and various other statistics at each age.

**Natural increase:** A change in population size over a given period as a result of the difference between the number of births and deaths.

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[1] For further information consult the following: International Union for the Scientific Study of Population, **Multilingual Demographic Dictionary**, Ordina Editions, Liège 1980; Pressat, Roland. **The Dictionary of Demography**, ed. Christopher Wilson. Oxford, England: New York, NY, USA.

**Neonatal mortality:** Mortality in the first month after birth (part of infant mortality.

**Net migration:** Difference between immigration and emigration for a given area and period of time.

**Nulliparous:** Pertaining to a woman or a marriage of zero parity (has not produced a child).

**Parity:** A term used in reference to a woman or a marriage to denote the number of births or deliveries by the woman or in the marriage. A two-parity woman is a woman who has given birth to a second-order child.

**Population growth:** A change, either positive or negative, in population size over a given period.

**Population movement:** Gradual change in population status over a given period attribuable to the demographic events occurring during the period. Movement here is not a synomyn for migration.

**Post-neonatal mortality:** Mortality between the ages of one month and one year.

**Probability of survival:** Probability at exact age x of surviving to not less than exact age $x + a$; denoted $_ap_x$. It is the complement of the probability of death $(1 - {_aq_x})$.

**Quinquennial:** Pertaining to a five-year period.

**Rate:** Ratio of the events occurring in a population in a given period to the average population during that period.

**Sex ratio:** Ratio of males to females in a given population. It is usually expressed as the number of males per 100 females.

**Standardization:** Procedure by which rates are corrected for the effect of the population structures under consideration in order to facilitate a comparison with other populations.

**Structure:** Composition of a population based on demographic characteristics such as age, sex, marital status, and so on.

**Timing:** Distribution over time of the events characterizing a particular phenomenon within a cohort. Its purpose is to indicate the rate at which the events occur. Mean or median age and mean or median duration are often used to measure the "timing" of events.

**Total (fertility, divorce, nuptiality) rate:** The sum of age-specific rates during a given period. It is one of the most commonly used current indices. It represents the behaviour of a fictitious cohort.